

1942

The Texas Career of Thomas Affleck.

Fred Carrington Cole

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Cole, Fred Carrington, "The Texas Career of Thomas Affleck." (1942). *LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses*. 7859.
https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/7859

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses by an authorized administrator of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.

THE TEXAS CAREER OF THOMAS AFFLECK

**A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY**

BY

FRED C. COLE

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

MAY, 1942

UMI Number: DP69237

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI DP69237

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

827
3

CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	i
FOREWORD	iv
CHAPTER	
I. EMIGRANT	1
II. MISSISSIPPIAN	10
III. TEXAS LANDS	30
IV. EARLY PREPARATIONS FOR REMOVAL TO TEXAS	54
V. FURTHER PROBLEMS OF EMIGRATION	76
VI. PUBLICITY IN TEXAS FOR THE AFFLECK ENTERPRISES	102
VII. TEXAN	131
VIII. CIVIL WAR	158
IX. WAR'S AFTERMATH	198
X. EARLY IMMIGRATION PLANS	227
XI. FIRST EUROPEAN TRIP	245
XII. LABOR PROBLEMS IN TEXAS IN EARLY 1866 AND AFFLECK'S PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES	284
XIII. THE TEXAS LAND, LABOR AND IMMIGRATION COMPANY	322
XIV. LOBBYIST	347
XV. SECOND EUROPEAN TRIP	376
XVI. FINAL PROMOTIONS	410
XVII. THE CLOSE OF A CAREER	446
BIBLIOGRAPHY	474
VITA	488

378.76
L930d
1942
C.2.

347253

ABSTRACT

The Texas experiences of Thomas Affleck, 1854-1868, are emphasized in this study although sufficient background has been presented to give proper perspective to his later years. His life, which spanned the period from 1812 to 1868, was filled with important personal undertakings; his career, moreover, gives information on events of wider significance. The author of this study has attempted to present the life of the man, to introduce to historians an unusually important collection of manuscripts, and to discuss those events in which Affleck played a significant role or which influenced his life materially.

Affleck was born in Dumfries, Scotland, July 13, 1812. His years in the Old Country, 1812-1832, were in large part spent in preparation for the position he was to take in American society. Interest in migration to the United States was at fever pitch during his youth, and he early planned to seek his fortune in the New World. After his decision had been reached he carefully disciplined his interests so that he would be fitted for the problems of America. With a sincere interest in agriculture and science, his studies were largely occupied with these subjects. In spite of his extraordinary training Affleck underwent many hardships in the East and Middle West where his years from 1832 to 1842 were spent. As a bookkeeper, frontier storekeeper, farmer, nursery-

man, and editor he preached better agricultural methods and tried to interest frontier Americans in co-operation and diversification.

In 1842 Affleck moved to Mississippi where he continued his important work as editor and publicist. He published important aids to the southern agrarian and made other contributions toward remedying the South's colonialism. The financial returns from a nursery and planting were not sufficient to meet Affleck's needs. His interests were therefore turned to other enterprises and in his search for financial security he became involved in many phases of southern economy. Indebtedness, and a natural inclination to seek greener pastures, caused him to study the advantages of Texas, where he decided he could solve his financial problems. By 1855 he had concluded to move to that state. Although he began his removal during that year, the difficult process was not completed until 1860. He was barely settled in time to assume an important role as a civilian leader during the Civil War. As the master of more than one hundred slaves and the owner of many acres his experiences show the exigencies of the planter's life during the conflict. He continued to write and advise the people of the South and undoubtedly aided greatly in the section's economic improvement.

When the conflict was ended there were apparently great opportunities for those who had the foresight and initiative to take advantage of the needs of a New South, which had been helped

in many ways as result of the necessity of depending on its own resources for four years. Affleck's name was favorably known throughout the state and he was able to gain a hearing for the ideas he presented. He believed that the section must first solve its labor problems by becoming independent of the Negro, and he entered upon an enterprise for encouraging and assisting immigration from Europe to the South. He made two trips to Europe and his observations on the prospects of aid for the southern states are informative. His attempt to solve the southern labor and racial problems led him into industrial and commercial schemes of immense potentialities. Irrigation, dredging, manufacturing, shipping, food preservation, fishing, and many other enterprises were promoted by Affleck. He failed to achieve the success he had hoped for in his activities but his efforts were not futile, for he showed the way for others to follow. If all of his undertakings had been failures, however, his work would be worth study because it presents in a clearer light many of the problems of the era and the solutions that were attempted.

FOREWORD

The life of Thomas Affleck runs the gamut of nearly six decades of the nineteenth century. It is history which begins in Scotland during the era of reform and ends in Texas during Reconstruction. In itself, the life of this emigrant, agriculturist, scientist, editor, publicist, and promoter is unusual. His career, moreover, adds a page to American agricultural history. Affleck's Texas experiences, 1854-1868, with which this study is principally concerned, are worthy of special attention. His role there was of more than ordinary importance and the records which he preserved reveal much information concerning the economic, political, and social transitions in the state.

Affleck's career as presented in this study is based largely upon his writings. Both his published work and his correspondence are utilized. As he kept an unusually complete file of his personal papers, a better balanced view of his life can be presented than would have been possible merely from his published writings and the comments of others about him. At the same time, the problem of giving consistent evaluation of the man's work is sometimes most difficult. The difficulty is occasioned in part by the conflicts between the printed explanations for many of his acts and the explanations which are implicit in his more intimate correspondence. In such cases, the writer has erred on the side of allowing Affleck to

speak for himself.

The author is much indebted to several persons for assistance in the preparation of this study. Dean Wendell H. Stephenson, who directed this thesis and guided the writer's historical study, is largely responsible for what merit the completed work may have. Dr. J. Merton England and Miss Elfa Fontenot have been most liberal with their time and have given invaluable assistance in the preparation of the final copy. Grateful acknowledgment is also made to the student assistants, particularly Miss Allene Graves and Mr. Orren J. Christy, who worked long hours in typing the Affleck Papers and this manuscript.

The writer is particularly grateful to the following organizations and their staffs for their kindness in assisting the author in his research: The Library and Department of Archives of Louisiana State University; The Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; The Houston Public Library, Houston, Texas; The University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas; The Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas; and The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

This study also owes much to Mr. James A. McMillen whose interest made it possible to procure the Affleck Papers and who has aided the author in many other ways. Mr. T. D. Affleck, Galveston, Texas, has aided the author immeasurably in preserving his grandfather's and father's manuscripts and in making them available for historians' use.

I

EMIGRANT

Thomas Affleck was born in Dumfries, Scotland, on July 13, 1812.¹ His family was a respected one which was deeply influenced by its Calvinistic faith.² When his father could find time from inventing, speculating, and promoting, he was a storekeeper and importer of some importance. His mother, an intelligent, conservative woman, bore more than her share of the family's financial burden.³ Although his parents intended that he should become a member of the medical profession, his own interests lay in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, and practical sciences.⁴ He was obliged to leave the University of Edinburgh shortly after matriculating in 1830 because of financial reasons, and succeeded in finding work at the National Bank of Scotland of which his uncle was director.⁵ There, he absorbed much of the business routine, but decided that banking offered too little promise for one of his ambition and ability.⁶ Consequently, during

1 Thomas Affleck, Jr., was the fourth of eleven children born to Thomas and Mary Hammy Affleck. The early life of Affleck is treated at length in Fred Cole, "The Early Life of Thomas Affleck" (M. A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1936).

2 An account kept by one of the present Affleck family on a trip to Scotland in 1935, identified by the initials, T. B. A. All the manuscript materials hereinafter cited, unless otherwise designated, are in the Affleck Papers, Louisiana State University Department of Archives.

3 Thomas Affleck's Diary, 1831, 1832, passim. There are several diaries in the Affleck Papers: January 1 to December 31, 1831; January 1 to March 6, 1832; March 28 to April 12, 1832. Also, there are several loose pages from other diary books which he probably kept regularly. Cited hereinafter as Diary, with date. See also record made by Elizabeth Allen Affleck in 1896.

4 Obituary clipping from Houston Telegraph, January 11, 1869, in Affleck Papers. Affleck to Mrs. A. D. Smith, March 19, 1842.

5 Houston Telegraph, January 11, 1869.

6 Diary, March 4, 1831.

the period of political turmoil and economic depression of 1831 and 1832, when many Scotsmen were being attracted to the wealth and land of America, he prepared to follow the growing list of emigrants.⁷ He arrived in the United States in the spring of 1832, when the new country⁸ was experiencing a period of remarkable growth.

For three years Thomas Affleck lived in the East, finding positions in New York, Pittsburgh, and in Washington, Pennsylvania.⁹ His kinsmen in Pennsylvania urged him to settle in that section, but he was not satisfied with the lot of a Pennsylvania farmer.¹⁰ Attracted by the promise of the frontier where opportunities seemed unlimited and where profits of 30 and 40 per cent on merchandise were a minimum expectation, he and his family, which had recently joined him in America, journeyed to Clinton, Indiana. In this place he established himself as a store-keeper and trader.¹³

7 *Ibid.*, January 7, 1831, at seq.; Affleck to John Graham, October 25, 1831; Ephraim D. Adams, "The British Traveler in America," in *Political Science Quarterly*, XXIX (1914), 246. William Cobbett, *The Emigrant's Guide* (London, 1830), is an example of the literature that young Scotsmen read concerning this country. See Lane Cooper, "Travelers and O'bearers, 1763-1846," in *Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York, 1918), I, 210.

8 Diary, 1831, 1832, *passim*. See especially, Voyage Across the Atlantic, March 28-May 4, 1832. See also, Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 18-47.

9 Diary, May 4-13, 1832; Affleck to his father, May 14, June 19, July 2, 1832; *id.* to J. L. Kerr, May 12, 1832; *id.* to John Graham, August 16, 1832.

10 William Dorman to Thomas Affleck, May 30, 1832; Affleck to John McKinnel, October 1, 1832; July 20, 1833; *id.* to his mother, October 24, 1832; September 26, 1833; *id.* to Mrs. A. D. Smith, March 19, 1842.

11 Robert Cochran to Affleck, July 22, 1837.

12 Affleck to Misses Bruce, September 25, 1834; *id.* to Margaret Bruce, April 5, 11, 27, 1835; July 27, 1836; Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1918), I, 213.

13 Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 81-91. Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, 6 vols. (New York, 1921), V, 455-58; D. R. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States* (New York, 1931), 113.

His experiences in Clinton were far from happy. During this period his wife and son and a brother died. His mercantile business, like that of many others, was affected by the panic of 1837 and suffered severely. He had come to realize that frontier life and Yankee trading methods made demands which he was not at that time ready to meet.¹⁴

Accordingly, in 1838, with the intention of returning to Scotland, Affleck left Clinton, and turning over what remained of his affairs to his brother, he traveled to Cincinnati. Here he became ill and it was only through the kindness of friends that he was able to survive.¹⁵ Upon the advice of a friendly doctor, he settled near Cincinnati and with borrowed money commenced to grow vegetables, melons, and other produce for the market. His passionate fondness for horticultural pursuits, particularly for floriculture, was soon evinced by the flowers and trailing vines decorating his cottage, which became noted as a show place. However, as a contemporary wrote, "From bad seasons and other causes he failed to make any profits."¹⁶ Important among these "other causes" was his agricultural speculation.

The first outstanding "flyer" which Affleck took was in connection with the infamous Morus multicaulis speculation.¹⁷ Morus multicaulis was

¹⁴ Affleck had married Margarete Bruce of Philadelphia, September 15, 1836. To this union was born a son in December, 1837, but his wife and son both died in 1838. Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 89.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 89-92; Affleck to Mrs. A. D. Smith, March 19, 1842.

¹⁶ E. J. Hooper, editor of the Western Farmer and Gardener, wrote an article for a Cincinnati newspaper, April 15, 1869, a clipping of which is in the Affleck Papers. Cited hereinafter as "Hooper Article."

¹⁷ Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1820-1860 (Washington, 1925), 193, 382;

a kind of white mulberry originally imported from the Orient and was purported to guarantee the success of silk raising in the United States. Despite the previous failures of this product, agricultural periodicals of the 1830's offered extended advice on its production, emphasized its profit bearing qualities, and advertised machines for processing it. With editorial connivance, some nurserymen began to "puff" the value of the imported mulberry. The artificial demand thus created soon exhausted the supply and a period of speculation began. Prices soared until buds were selling at six cents each. Present-day stock market practices prevailed; short selling developed and one man advertised the delivery of five million trees that he did not yet own. Then, like the crash of the South Sea Bubble, the bottom dropped out of the market and producers rushed to dispose of their holdings. Although an investigation did not reveal anyone who had made more than a small profit, it was clear that those who had bought at the top of the market suffered heavy losses.¹⁸ Among this number was Thomas Affleck.¹⁹

Affleck learned one important thing from this experience, namely, that the American farmer would buy anything that was widely advertised and cleverly presented. Thus, in subsequent dealings, he sought to profit from the agricultural craze which was prevalent at the moment. Among the speculative manias that successively attracted Affleck's

Lewis C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933, pagination is continuous), 789, 828-29; Arthur H. Cole, "Agricultural Crises: A Neglected Chapter in American Economic History," in American Economic Review, XVI (1926), 622-39.

¹⁸ Cole, "Agricultural Crises," in loc. cit., 622-39.

¹⁹ Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 95.

attention were Berkshire hogs, Hereford cattle, Merino sheep, Spanish jackasses, Chinese sugar cane, Japanese potatoes, East Indian geese, Egyptian oats, guano, fancy cotton seeds, and Texas lands.²⁰ Not all of these agricultural ventures proved to be harmful to the public in the long run, for the growth of valuable livestock and the distribution of many useful plants were thereby furthered. The prices were too high at speculation peaks, however, and a number of individual purchasers suffered hardships as a result.

In October, 1840, Affleck made his debut as an agricultural editor.²¹ The publisher of the Cincinnati farm magazine, the Western Farmer, wished to be relieved of editorial duties and Affleck joined him as an associate editor, and the words "and Gardener" were added to the title.²² His contributions to the periodical were evident from the first, and in 1841, after he became editor, his writings composed the greater part of the creative material in the magazine. His keen observation of agricultural needs, his efforts to popularize horticulture at an opportune time for the Middle West, and his personal experience coupled with a pleasing, lucid style of writing proved invaluable. Diversification was the keynote of his editorial policy, and fruits, flowers, vegetable gardening, viticulture, bee breeding, livestock, and other adjuncts to staple farming were accordingly encouraged.²³

²⁰ Cole, "Agricultural Crises," in loc. cit., 622-39; Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 701, 789, 805, 828-29, 847; Affleck to Dr. C. J. Eames, September 29, 1868.

²¹ "Hooper Article."

²² Ibid.; Western Farmer and Gardener, II (1840-1841), 1-2.

²³ Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 98 ff.

In order to stimulate progress and to increase profits among middle western farmers, Affleck advocated the use of improved implements. The profits to be made in the West were to be largely determined by the amount of labor a person or family could command. The natural scarcity of man power for extensive farming was accentuated by the growth of factories and of other industries which could alienate the services of any surplus labor by paying higher prices. This was especially true around Cincinnati, the "Porkopolis" of the United States, with its packing industry. When the markets for their staples were increased by the opening of the Erie Canal, the building of railroads and the development of other internal improvements, the farmers felt more than ever the lack of a labor supply.²⁴ But their problem could not be solved by immigration as long as land was available almost for the asking. Thus, with the twofold purpose of profiting personally from the advertisement and sale of agricultural implements and of benefiting his section of the country, Affleck encouraged the use of various labor-saving devices. He was careful to advertise in his magazine tools of proven worth; if they were not up to standard, such information was added in the notice. The practice of receiving commissions for promoting sales was customary among publishers of agricultural journals, and the Western Farmer and Gardener was no exception.²⁵

²⁴ Bidwell and Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 204, 274-80; Western Farmer and Gardener, II, 42, 46, 81, 91, 165, 272, *ad passim*.

²⁵ Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 102-105; Bidwell and Falconer,

Another significant policy of the periodical while under the direction of Affleck was to encourage and assist the establishment of agricultural and horticultural societies. Rural organizations had been organized extensively and had proved quite successful in Great Britain and on the Continent. Farmers in the East had early adopted similar means to promote social contacts, to show livestock, and to gather information about new or improved agricultural methods. Affleck encouraged this form of enterprise in the Middle West, where heretofore there had been little enthusiasm for such co-operation. He served as corresponding secretary of several agricultural societies and was instrumental in forming the Horticultural Society of Hamilton County, which, among other things, encouraged the scientific culture of fruits and vegetables. This local organization was probably the first of its kind west of the Alleghenies and its founder was given credit for bringing about needed civic improvements.²⁶ It must be added, however, that since farm societies offered an opportunity to trade in livestock and to advertise implements and seeds that the editor might have for sale, Affleck's interest in such organizations was not wholly altruistic.

Thomas Affleck and the Western Farmer and Gardener took an enthusiastic interest in the formation of a national society for agricultural

History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 281-305; Albert L. Demaree, The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860 (New York, 1941), 140-59.
²⁶ Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 106-10, 113-15; Bidwell and Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 184-93; Robert W. Scott to Affleck, July 29, 1848.

27

improvement. Although Solon Robinson was perhaps the chief instigator, Affleck was certainly a foremost advocate of the National Agricultural Society. The sponsors of this organization hoped and expected to receive for their use part or all of the money left by James Smithson "for the diffusion of knowledge." Failure to obtain the Smithsonian funds defeated their immediate plans and was largely responsible for the premature dissolution of the first national agricultural organization. This initial work, however, "paved the way for the formation of the United States Agricultural Society in 1852, and this, in turn, played an influential role in the establishment of the Department of Agriculture ten years later."

28

Another contribution which Affleck gave the Middle West was his encouragement of animal husbandry. His boarding place in Cincinnati became a rendezvous for visiting stockmen. His knowledge of livestock fairs in Scotland and England helped him to become the representative of several prominent Ohio and Kentucky breeders for whom he found it profitable to travel and sell, as well as to trade for himself when he had the capital. At this time (1840-1841) stock breeders were most interested in Durham cattle and in Berkshire hogs--the latter then approaching the height of their popularity--and to a less degree in Merino sheep. The most prominent feature of the Western Farmer and

27 Herbert A. Kellar (ed.), Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1936), I, 25-26.

28 Herbert A. Kellar, "Solon Robinson," in Dictionary of American Biography, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), XVI, 50-51; Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 109-13; Western Farmer and Gardener, II, 126-27, 185-86, 231, *et passim*.

Gardener soon came to be its livestock section and each issue contained engravings of fine animals paid for by owners who were interested in either the commercial value of the advertisement or in the personal gratification they derived.²⁹

Affleck's editorship came at the end of a depression when Western people were regaining their confidence and were showing the usual tendency of the American farmer to recoup his losses through agricultural expansion. The fortunes of farmers in the West depended not alone on weather conditions, but to a greater degree upon conditions in the eastern market and in the consuming South.³⁰ Affleck understood the danger of an economy based upon such dependence and tried through his writings to alter the highly speculative one-crop agriculture with its cycle of expansion in years of plenty and of contraction during the inevitable depression that followed.³¹ In his eyes, the ills of the farmer not only in the West but in the South as well, were caused largely by shoddy method and lack of planning. He believed that with proper application, a farm could become a place of beauty and satisfaction rather than one of drudgery. He advocated self-sufficiency, co-operation, and scientific methods as the cardinal rules for successful farm life, and above all, he denounced speculative agriculture and speculation of any kind for agrarians. But, as in the case of his father, Affleck was too much in debt to follow his own advice.

²⁹ Memorandum Books, 1840-1841, 1841-1842; Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 116-22; "Hooper's Article"; Bidwell and Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 217-23; Western Farmer and Gardener, II, III, *passim*.

³⁰ Bidwell and Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 306-15.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 330-38.

II

MISSISSIPPIAN

In the winter of 1841-1842 Affleck made a tour of Kentucky and the southern Mississippi Valley to visit fairs and agriculture meetings, report upon his journey for his magazine, and sell some fine animals in Louisiana and Mississippi. This distribution of blooded stock and the publication of a series of articles upon the subject were later given much credit for the revived interest in improved livestock in these states.¹

While at the Adams County, Mississippi, fair, he fell in love with a widow, Mrs. Anna Dunbar Smith, daughter of Isaac Dunbar, one of the leading planters in the state. When Affleck returned North it was with the intention of settling up his affairs so that he could return to Mississippi where he planned to live after his marriage to Mrs. Smith.²

Affleck was of the opinion when he removed to the South in the spring of 1842 that his future worries would be confined solely to the management of his future wife's extensive property.³ To avoid any charges of "fortune hunting" he signed before the wedding a marriage indenture whereby he relinquished all claims to his wife's property except for

¹ Western Farmer and Gardener, III, 36-41, 78-85, 122-27, 135-37; Baton Rouge Gazette, January 1, 1842; Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 857; Affleck to N. P. Boyer, December 19, 1867. Professor W. H. Stephenson is preparing a study of the Mississippi career of Affleck. The purpose here is merely to suggest some of his most significant accomplishments.

² Affleck to Mrs. A. D. Smith, March 19, 1842.

³ Ibid.; Robert W. Scott to Affleck, July 29, 1842; M. W. Philips to id., May 14, 1842; January 18, 1843; E. G. Hooper to id., August 4, 1845.

the use of income to support his family.⁴ He expected to have sufficient time for writing, experimenting, and trading--avocations which would serve to occupy his energies and to relieve him of indebtedness incurred in the Middle West. An inventory furnished a shock, however; for Mrs. Affleck's property was deeply involved in debt and when her husband took over the management, he found that the usual credit facilities were not always open to him.⁵

For a few years after settling in Mississippi, Affleck tried to solve his financial difficulties by planting cotton on a large scale. His wife had inherited a plantation from her first husband, and shortly before her second marriage had purchased another on credit, in partnership with Charles Lancaster. The partner refused to co-operate in Affleck's attempt to manage his wife's property.⁶ Calvin Smith, Affleck's minor stepson, had been given a large plantation as his share of the inheritance, which was also placed under the charge of Affleck.⁷ On these lands Affleck entered upon his new vocation with great enthusiasm in 1842--a year which fell in one of the worst periods for profitable cotton planting in the ante-bellum era. The price averaged 6.3 cents

⁴ Adams County (Mississippi) Deed Record Books, DD, 347.

⁵ Affleck to Charles Lancaster, October 1, 1842; Hooper to Affleck, August 4, 1846; Memorandum Books, 1842-1847, *passim*. The Memorandum Books have notations on various subjects. At times the entries are dated but the books are not paged.

⁶ "Agreement of Purchase of Charles Lancaster's Share of Rosehill," November 24, 1842; Affleck to Charles Lancaster, October 1, 1842; Adams County Deed Record Books, DD, 347, 533, 537, 692-95; Adams County Probate Real Estate Records, I, 99-103; Adams County Assessment Rolls, 1843, 1845.

⁷ Memorandum Books, 1842-1843; Adams County Assessment Rolls, 1843, 1845, 1846, 1850.

a pound during 1842-1845; it rose to 9.9 cents in 1846, but in that year a large proportion of the cotton crop in the South, including Affleck's, was destroyed by the army worm.⁸ Plantation supplies were expensive and by the winter of 1846 Affleck found it impossible to meet the demands of his creditors. In early 1847 judgments were entered against him and he had to relinquish all of his own and his wife's property with the exception of some slaves, a home, "Ingleside," and about forty-eight acres of land near Washington, Mississippi, which had been purchased on credit.⁹ Affleck continued to manage his stepson's plantation but he received only a small percentage of the profits from it.¹⁰

Meanwhile, through his writings for newspapers and agricultural periodicals he had established himself as an authority on southern agricultural problems. With a growing reputation as an expert consultant, Affleck turned his attention to the establishment of the first extensive commercial nursery in the Southwest, and to writing for financial gain.¹¹

⁸ Memorandum Books, 1842-1848; Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 1027 (Appendix). See references in n. 14.

⁹ Twenty-five acres of pasture land were added to his holding in 1848. Memorandum Books, 1842-1848, especially 1847; Adams County Tax List, 1846; Adams County Assessment Rolls, 1850, 1852; Adams County Deed Record Books, II, 407; III, 578.

¹⁰ Account Book, 1854-1856, *passim*; Memorandum Books, 1846-1847; Adams County Probate Records, III, 174.

¹¹ Affleck to A. B. Allen and Company, May 10, 1851. In the New Orleans Commercial Times, September 22, 1846, Affleck was credited as being "well known for his devotion to agricultural science." In noticing the issuance of Norman's Southern Agricultural Almanac for 1847 which was edited by Affleck, the Times carried the following: "Mr. Affleck. . . is well

There was an evident need for commercial nurseries in the antebellum South. Many persons in recently settled sections had originally contemplated temporary residence, expecting to return to their former homes after they had accumulated some savings. Now most had either become satisfied with the opportunities where they were or had become so deeply involved that it was necessary to remain. In either case, there was a feeling of permanency which created a desire for a more balanced economy and for permanent, beautified homes. For these reasons the spirit of horticultural and architectural improvement had become widespread by the 1840's.¹²

But people who had an inclination to interest themselves in horticulture were faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. There were no extensive nurseries and commercial gardens accessible from which they could procure the desired fruits, flowers, and shrubbery. The cost of transportation and attendant expenses prohibited many Southerners from buying in the North. If the shipments were received in unsound condition losses must be borne by recipients. There were justifiable suspicions that northern nurserymen and seedsmen imposed upon them; at best, as

known for the extent of his information in all that regards agriculture here in these regions, and his remarks are such that no one engaged in husbandry in the South can look through them without awarding to him the need of their approbation." *Ibid.*, October 15, 1846. J. D. B. DeBow wrote to Affleck on June 14, 1846, that "Yr position is so well known as a scientific-agriculturist--that the editor will prize anything you may say on the points in this circular."

¹² Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States*, 900-902; Avery Craven, "The 'Turner Theories' and the South," in *Journal of Southern History*, V (1939), 300 ff.

Affleck expressed it, the Southerner was buying a "pig in a poke."¹³ More important than all of these complaints was the fact there was no way of knowing what plants were suitable for southern culture. How could a planter in Louisiana know whether a particularly successful apple stock that had been noticed in the Horticulturist, an unusually reliable guide, but published in the North, would flourish in his own section? Repeated failures with imported stock were attributed to Yankee "sharpers," and the Southerner became more convinced than ever that the only practical flower and fruit for the South was grown on the cotton plant.¹⁴

In developing his nursery Affleck imported plants from all parts of the North, from England, Scotland, and the Continent, as well as from various sections of the South. Many plants purchased in the North were impractical for southern culture. Orders from Europe seldom arrived in good condition, and the risk must be borne by the Mississippi nurseryman. Although Affleck complained bitterly of the expensiveness of his purchases, his continued efforts to get superior plants reveal a sincere desire to serve his section well. Hundreds of varieties of fruits and flowers were experimented with--a matter not of days or months, but of

¹³ Affleck's Southern Rural Almanac and Plantation and Garden Calendar for 1861, pp. 26-27, 38-39; ibid., 1855, p. 47. Cited hereafter as Almanac, with date.

¹⁴ Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 824-27; P. Barry, The Fruit Gardens: A Treatise (New York, 1851), vii-x. James Fitz wrote as late as 1872 in his The Southern Apple and Peach Culturist (Richmond, 1872), 2: "It will be readily perceived, on examining authors on fruit culture, that the South has been neglected." The Horticulturist was published at Albany, New York.

years and often of decades.¹⁵

Affleck's first comprehensive catalog, published in 1851, indicates the extensiveness of his work. He listed for sale 230 varieties of pear trees--his most numerous offering. As this type of fruit had not met with general success in the South, Affleck's accomplishment was remarkable. Then followed in order, 177 kinds of apple trees, 63 of peach, 16 of cherry, 15 of fig, 13 of plum, 11 of nectarine, 7 of apricot, 5 of quince, and 3 of medlar. Also for sale were 11 varieties of raspberries and 14 of strawberries. Among the flowers, he advertised 162 kinds of roses as well as verbenas, chrysanthemums, dahlias, violets, and Tom Thumbs. The ornamental and hedging trees and plants included Norway, Himalayan, Black American, Red American, and Hemlock spruce, balsam fir, long-leafed pine, Deodar cedar, holly, English laurel, privet, cape jessamine, pyracantha, broom, gorse, American and Chinese arbor vitae, and Cherokee rose.¹⁶

A vast number of southern people were quite unaware of the value of fruits and vegetables or of the satisfaction to be derived from planned floriculture; nor did they know that the soil and climate of the South possessed many advantages for the cultivation of certain types of fruits and vegetables superior to those of any other section. There were some horticultural treatises available but none of them circulated sufficiently in the South--or for that matter anywhere--to effect much improvement.¹⁷

¹⁵ There are literally hundreds of letters showing that Affleck ordered from almost every source.

¹⁶ Almanac, 1852, pp. 91-108.

¹⁷ This is indicated by the fact that very few of the correspondents to the horticultural magazines were Southerners. The most significant and

The horticultural magazines circulated as a rule only among the nurserymen and more advanced cultivators; the few southern readers viewed with suspicion the methods advocated by writers who were unfamiliar with local conditions. Southerners generally were ignorant of recent developments in dwarfing stocks, of the comparative values of certain stocks for grafting, and of the different modes of propagation and pruning. Cultivation of trees, when attempted at all, was usually undertaken in the simplest and crudest manner.¹⁸ There was real need for someone who could present in writing pomological developments adaptable to the South in such a manner that they would be read without prejudice. This same need was equally evident in the field of vegetable gardening and floriculture.¹⁹

Such practical matters as methods of efficient hedging had also been either unknown or neglected by most Southerners. Hedging plants were of great importance to the planter and stock raiser. When Affleck began to popularize the use of the Cherokee rose as the most practical hedge for the South he was solving a long-standing problem with most ruralists. His advocacy was not the first, but he more than any other demonstrated the usefulness of hedging, particularly with the Cherokee roses.²⁰

widely circulated book on the subject, A. J. Downing, *The Fruits and Fruit Trees of America* (New York, 1845), was not of much value to the Southerner, especially in selection. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States*, 824-27.

¹⁸ *Albany*, 1851, pp. 26-27, 38-39; *ibid.*, 1852, pp. 21-22.

¹⁹ *New Orleans Commercial Times*, July 9, 1846, at seq.; *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, June 23, 1851, at seq.

²⁰ Thomas Affleck, "The Cherokee Rose and Hedging in the South," in *Da Bui's Bavian*, V (1848), 82-86, 175-79.

Thus it was not only necessary for Affleck to offer plants for sale but he had to teach the people the names of varieties that could be grown in the South and how to select and cultivate them. As there were no satisfactory studies on southern horticulture, Affleck was faced with the necessity of relying on his own experiments, upon the useful information gleaned from authorities and publications of other sections, and upon correspondence with those who had had practical experience in the South.²¹ Probably more than any other man he was responsible for whatever knowledge the people of his section gained about horticulture.

Affleck was a most prolific penman. The volume of his published work alone is impressive, but when his manuscript records are also considered, it seems impossible that he had the time and energy to accomplish so much. He served in the role of an embryo department of agriculture in the South, particularly in the Southwest. He not only contributed regular columns to the newspapers, but he also published an annual almanac and account book. Through his personal correspondence he advised countless contemporaries, and his advice upon almost every subject dealing with rural economy was sought by persons from all sections.²²

²¹ See for example his writings in the New Orleans Commercial Times during 1846 and in the New Orleans Weekly Picayune during 1850-1851.

²² See for example, Thaddeus W. Harris to Affleck, October 21, December 12, 1846; September 27, 1848; April 27, 1848; February 10, 1850; Dr. Lewis Harper to id., October 24, December 3, 1846; January 13, 1847; I. D. Gale to id., December 19, 1846; John Milne to id., February 1, August 13, 1847; J. V. Jones to id., September 13, October 14, 1851; Charles B. Stewart to id., October 15, 1850; Sydney Weller to id., October 6, 1849; John Parkhill to id., March 31, 1847; Henry S. Randall to id., November 24, 1846. See also, his columns in the newspapers cited in n. 21. The indexes to his correspondence reveal that he had correspondents in every part of the country.

The principal media for Affleck's discussions, apart from his Almanac and personal correspondence, were the agricultural periodicals and southern newspapers. Ante-bellum magazines after 1842 carry numerous articles from his pen.²³ At various times before his removal to Texas he served as agricultural editor of the New Orleans Commercial Times, the New Orleans Picayune, and also wrote often for other papers in the Southwest. For some of his journalistic efforts he was regularly paid, but more often he was satisfied with the publicity given to his name and nursery.²⁴

As a newspaper editor he prepared a weekly section running to two or three, and sometimes more columns. The type of information varied but the planter or farmer could keep abreast of the agricultural times by following Affleck's articles. There were reviews of books and periodicals which contained information useful to the South and corrected unfair or erroneous statements. For example, a North Carolina magazine was taken to task when it argued that sheep for wool could not be successfully grown south of that state. There were replies to queries, excerpts from personal correspondence, and accounts of his own experiments. Quite often Affleck used his column to recommend some product in which he had a pecuniary interest. At times he threatened to expose people who had treated him or some of his associates unfairly. His counsel was almost invariably good, resulted from much study, experi-

23 A complete bibliography of Affleck's published writings is being compiled by the author and Professor Stephenson. He published something in most of the agricultural periodicals each year.

24 Affleck to A. M. Hallbrook, January 16, 18, 1851; id. to A. B. Allen and Company, 1851; id. to F. D. Gay, May 3, August 26, 1851.

mentation, and correspondence, and was presented in a clear, concise, readable style. It is strikingly modern in tone; for example, soil conservation by rotation, cover crops, terracing, guard drains, and commercial fertilization were proposed with much the same intent and reasoning that they are today.²⁵ Many present-day farmers would balance production, improve their yields, and preserve their soil better if they followed Affleck's advice given in the two decades prior to the Civil War.

Although Affleck occasionally attempted to start an agricultural magazine in the South he was not successful. Two of his publications, however, circulated widely and were responsible for much improvement in southern economy. Affleck's Southern Rural Almanac and Plantation and Garden Calendar was published almost continuously from 1847 to 1861, and also for 1869,²⁶ and his Plantation Record and Account Book was

²⁵ New Orleans Commercial Times, July 3-October 15, 1846; New Orleans Weekly Picayune, April 17, 1850-February 10, 1851. Robert Russell, a noted Scotch traveler and writer, in his North America, Its Agriculture and Climate (Edinburgh, 1857), 254, wrote the following in 1853 concerning Affleck: "By a rather curious coincidence, I have /St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans/ met a gentleman very unexpectedly about whom I had formerly made inquiries. When at Charleston, I was interested with essays on Southern agriculture that appeared in the newspapers, but could not learn anything of their author. I had taken down his name in my note-book, with the intention of inquiring after him when I got to the South-western States, for his writings reminded me more of those of Cato than any that I had ever read.... The making of his acquaintance was a decided hit; for he was a Scotchman, and had been in the country for upwards of twenty years. Of all the parties to whom I had introductions in the United States, no one, somehow or other, did I consider I had so great a claim to attention as upon the one whom I had so unexpectedly met."

²⁶ The Almanac was first published under the title of Norman's Southern Agricultural Almanac for 1847 in 1846 although it was edited by Affleck. It was changed to Affleck's Southern Rural Almanac and Plantation and Garden Calendar for the 1851 issue. A copy of the 1851 copyright is in Affleck Papers. B. M. Norman was an influential book dealer and publisher in New Orleans. New Orleans Commercial Times, October 15, 1846; Harper to

first issued in 1847 and reprinted with revisions almost annually until 1860. The Almanac was the more influential of the two, for through this medium--with a circulation varying from 10,000 to 50,000²⁷--Affleck presented the results of his experiments and other contributions in such a way that they appealed to numerous readers. In the absence of a significant rural periodical in the Southwest it went far toward filling the needs of the section. The principal purpose in publishing the Almanac was to advertise the products of his nursery. Advertisements and the sale of the Almanac sometimes yielded a profit, and returns also came from advocacy of products from whose sale Affleck received commissions.²⁸

It would be impracticable to treat in a short space all the different subjects in the Almanac from year to year or to show their value to the farmer, but a partial list will suffice to indicate the breadth of Affleck's interests and his services to his section. Besides excellent calendars, tables, and guides for planting, cultivating, and harvesting staple crops, there were articles on the importance of economic and cultural independence; treatises on conservation and fertilization of

Affleck, December 3, 1846; Norman's Southern Agricultural Almanac for 1848, (New Orleans, 1847), 1-3. No evidence has been located that an Almanac was published for 1850.

²⁷ Affleck claimed a much larger circulation than it actually had. See frontispiece of Almanac, 1854, for example, where he claimed a usual circulation of 100,000.

²⁸ Demaree, American Agricultural Press, lists no periodical of significance from the Southwest. There were a few short-lived magazines in the section but they were of little consequence. The South-Western Farmer (Raymond, Mississippi, 1842-1845); Southern Planter (Natchez, Mississippi, 1842), are typical.

soils; descriptions of insect pests and methods of controlling them; evaluations of various perennial grasses and other forage; lengthy treatments on the cultivation of fruit trees, shrubs, flowers, vegetables, and root crops; a discussion of the importance and value of a system of insurance for the planter; and a series of essays on the care, management, and discipline of the Negroes. A strong endorsement was given to the view that acclimated trees and other plants were the most satisfactory for the South. Affleck's very favorable commendation of Peruvian guano and certain other useful products was doubtless influenced by the fact that he had reached an agreement with the distributors to write them up for a commission on sales.²⁹

Affleck's Plantation Record and Account Book was a practical contribution to systematic record keeping on the southern plantation. Its use gave security to both the overseer and planter, for complete records of all transactions and daily routine on the plantation were required. The emphasis upon inventories and the Negroes' welfare shows that Affleck was keenly aware that a great fault of the average planter was to attach too much significance to the amount of cotton or cane produced and too little weight to capital depreciation and social welfare.³⁰

²⁹ Almanac, 1852-1854, passim. They averaged 132 pages each. Affleck claimed credit for setting "the model upon which all of these annual Registers were built up," by his work in issuing the Western Farmer and Gardener Almanac in 1840. Affleck to James Buchanan, January 26, 1868. See copy of this work in Affleck Papers. Affleck's name does not appear as editor, although he probably did the work.

³⁰ Copies of these books may be found in the Eli J. Capell Collection, Louisiana State University Department of Archives. As to the origin of the plantation journals Affleck wrote the following in 1851: "On my first

To illustrate Affleck's clear perception of southern problems, as well as to indicate some of the solutions that he consistently advocated, reference may be made to certain of his writings during the fall of 1853 when he was preparing his Almanac for 1854. A prosperous year was nearing completion; crops were good and were bringing high prices—a rare combination. Affleck, however, sounded a warning note. Wise Southerners, he insisted, would be cautious before prosperity. Few people were deeply in debt, but those who were should strain every nerve to be free; and those who were free should avoid the "trammels of debt" in the future. Profits might be safely invested in lands and Negroes, but credit purchases predicated upon a continuance of high prices of plantation products was another matter. "The almost sole investment of the planter's profits, in the purchase of Negroes," Affleck wrote, "is in the present relative position of the slaveholding states, a most unwise course. It amounts, in fact, to offering a premium to those states most exposed to the interference of the abolitionist, thus to rid themselves of a species

engaging in Cotton planting, which I have now, almost altogether given up for Nursery, I found it indispensable to my views, that my overseers should submit to me, weekly, a report of the proceedings upon the plantations—the more as one was 14 and the other 30 miles from home. To leave them, ignorant as they almost all are of everything like accounts &, in fact, ~~system~~ of any kind—to draw up their report after their own fashion, I found would not do; so I drew up a couple of books, ruled & headed to suit my plans. B. M. Norman, a New Orleans publisher & man of some enterprise, was with me on a visit, when the books were sent up on Sat: evng. as usual. He was pleased with the idea of publishing them & they were published. They are now in general use, here, in the S. W. Three editions or sizes are publ.—No. 1, for 40 hands, No. 2 for 80, & No. 3 for 120 hands or under." Affleck to J. V. Jones, May 24, 1851. There were editions for the sugar planter and the cotton planter that varied incidentally in form.

of property which is there growing daily more uncertain in its tenure. We should, on the contrary, compel a more determined stand on the part of the citizens of these States,--Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky,--against such interference, by an absolute refusal to buy their negroes; and at the same time aid and sustain them in a firm and determined resistance against further interference."³¹

It was folly, Affleck believed, for Southerners to shut their eyes to the fact that a political crisis was rapidly approaching. "There is a large party in the North," he warned, "resolved to give us no rest. It is impossible to conceive what can be their ultimate aims. The immediate results, if their fanatical course is not checked, can only be a dissolution of the Union. To avoid this lamentable alternative, the Southern people should look the danger clearly and fearlessly in the face, and determine upon the course to be pursued." Active participation in politics he avoided, but he did feel at liberty to offer suggestions to the rural population of the South, which if acted upon, would "aid in warding off the dreaded crisis altogether, or prepare for it should our worst fears be realized."³² Although his advice for avoiding the danger was not original, it was well presented and probably more widely read than that of many other publicists.

Affleck continually stressed the necessity of southern economic independence of the North.³³ Especially must the South produce the

³¹ Albany, 1854, p. 7.

³² Ibid., 7-8.

³³ This subject was frequently discussed at southern commercial conventions during the 1850's. Their proceedings were recorded in De Bow's Review, 1853-1859, passim. See also, Herbert Wender, Southern Commercial

necessities for a livelihood, including a sufficient quantity of food supplies for home consumption, as well as horses, mules, and oxen. Diversification of crops and improvement of homes and gardens would not only add to the comfort of the southern whites but would also improve the condition of the Negroes and "contribute greatly to the natural increase of their numbers." "With the planter," Affleck stated, "must originate the movement to relieve the South of the incubus of dependence. His spare capital is needed. His own individual time and talent are wanted. It is folly for him to expect northern fellow-citizens to make investments of skill and capital in a country or business, in which those most immediately interested exhibit such a lack of confidence." The profits made in the South were being drained away, he continued. Surplus capital should be invested in plank roads, railroads, and other internal improvements, in factories and foundries, and in establishing in business "young men of the South, sons of planters and others, now, alas! too many leading a life of idleness." Home education should be encouraged; southern schools should be supported. It was great folly, he thought, for "the South to complain of the interference of the abolitionists, whilst we send our sons and daughters to Northern institutions, many of which openly advocate abolitionism."³⁴

If there be room for argument as to the wisdom of all of Affleck's

Conventions, 1837-1859, in Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XLVIII (1930), passim, especially 70-164.

³⁴ Albany, 1854, pp. 11, 15.

economic theories, his usefulness to the South through his stress on scientific method, especially in the field of entomology, must certainly be recognised. In particular was he concerned with an attempt to find means to combat the insect scourge of the cotton planter--the army, or leaf, worm. This pest was costing the South millions of dollars and available evidence indicates that in 1846 and in several other years almost half of an expected crop was destroyed.³⁵ Affleck agreed with practical entomologists who emphasised the "necessity for careful biological study of different species before the exact character of their damage and the exact things to be done to circumvent them could be understood."³⁶ In approaching his study of the army worm, he began careful observation of its habits and compared his findings with those of other men. Chief among these was Thaddeus William Harris, Harvard College librarian, whose principal interest was in practical entomology. Harris' scientific work and publications earned him a foremost position among early entomologists and the title of "father" of practical entomology. Affleck turned to him for assistance in solving the entomological problems of the South.³⁷ For several years, almost until the death of Harris in 1856, they carried on lengthy correspondence and collaborated in their work.

³⁵ New Orleans Commercial Times, August 18, 19, September 7, 8, 9, 12, 1846; Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 704, 1026. Affleck listed the years 1804, 1825, 1827, 1829, 1833, 1834, 1840, 1841, and 1843, as those of the worst ravages up to 1846. New Orleans Commercial Times, September 8, 1846.

³⁶ Leland O. Howard, "Thaddeus William Harris," in Dictionary of American Biography, VIII, 321-22.

³⁷ Ibid. Harris to Affleck, October 21, 1846; N. M. Bentz to id., October 8, 1847.

In 1846 when Affleck began seriously to ponder the question of control of the army worm, he was writing regularly for the New Orleans Commercial Times. Through its columns he presented what useful information he could give for the guidance of farmers and in turn asked for advice based upon their experience.³⁸ One of his articles on the army worm was reprinted in a Savannah paper and came into the hands of Dr. Lewis Harper, formerly a resident of South Carolina and then living in Georgia. Harper was a political refugee from Germany and was seeking permanent employment in his adopted country.³⁹ He wrote to Affleck that he had read his article with interest and, since he was planning to discuss the problem in a forthcoming pamphlet, additional information for certain descriptions given by Affleck would be appreciated. The Mississippian was pleased to comply and entered upon an extensive correspondence with Harper.⁴⁰

By the end of the year Affleck had come to the conclusion that Harper was not approaching the problem properly. In order to deal with the pest scientifically its life cycle must be discovered before a method of control could be developed. There was one complicating factor; it was impossible to find where the parent moth hibernated. There were many theories prevalent but no definite knowledge. Until this point

38 New Orleans Commercial Times, August 18, September 7, 8, 9, 12, 22, 29, 1846.

39 Harper to Affleck, October 21, 1846. Harper later became professor of science at the University of Mississippi and director of the state geological survey. Charles S. Sydnor, A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region; Benjamin L. C. Hailes (Durham, 1938), 166, 167, 195, 199-202.

40 Harper to Affleck, October 21, 24, 1846.

was known there would be serious limitations to control.⁴¹ Harper had also found this to be the crucial problem.⁴² In the attempted solution the difference in method of the German and the Scotsman appeared.

Affleck continued his observations and correspondence and refused to present a definite theory until some concise information could be given.⁴³ On the other hand, Harper, who was a corresponding member of the French Academy, and well versed in the classics, did not wait for the slower method. In a private letter in which he quoted freely from Aristotle, Plato, Herodotus, and the Bible, as well as from prominent Continental scientists, he presented his conclusions. Spontaneous generation was the answer; the plant itself was responsible for the insect that lived to destroy it.⁴⁴

When this theory was criticized by Affleck, Harper replied that it must be accepted, and cited more evidence from the classicists and from the Bible to show that infallible sources sustained him.⁴⁵ The Mississippian, supported in his belief by Harris, continued to be skeptical, and invited Harper to place his views in print so that they could be answered.⁴⁶ This Harper was unwilling to do, saying that neither of

⁴¹ Harris to *id.*, December 12, 1846; I. D. Gale to *id.*, December 19, 1846.

⁴² Harper to *id.*, December 3, 1846; January 13, 1847.

⁴³ John Milne to *id.*, February 1, August 13, 1847; John Parkhill to *id.*, March 31, 1847; Hents to *id.*, September 25, October 23, 1847; Harris to *id.*, September 27, 1847; Thomas Darlow to *id.*, November 6, 1847.

⁴⁴ Harper to *id.*, October 8, 1847.

⁴⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, November 14, 1847.

⁴⁶ Harris to *id.*, September 27, 1847. References are made to previous letters in the above cited instance which explains the seeming lack of chronology.

then would be willing to compromise when something had been printed. He was convinced, however, that his theory of "equivocal generation" would prove the correct one. Affleck sent a copy of Harper's arguments to Harris and asked for assistance in refuting the theory presented. The Harvard librarian, however, saw the difficulty of taking issue until definite information could be obtained--especially since the doctor appeared to have the Bible on his side.⁴⁷

Affleck continued his study of the army worm as long as he lived and offered much valuable information based on his observations. He showed the usefulness of attracting the moths to lights surrounded by a liquid of some sort. He predicted short crops when he observed the early appearance of moths and advised planters to hold their cotton until higher prices came as a result of the destruction. Almost every pest then current in the South was similarly studied by Affleck; among them ants,⁴⁸ scabies, screw worms,⁴⁹ and termites.⁵⁰ In many cases he was able to suggest practical remedies from his own or others' personal experiments.

In many ways Affleck's career in Mississippi was the most important of his life. His writings, nursery developments, scientific interests, and public services greatly benefited southern agriculture. The returns

⁴⁷ Harris to Affleck, April 27, 1848; February 10, 1850; September 14, 1853; Harper to *id.*, November 19, 1849.

⁴⁸ *Almanac*, 1856, pp. 23, 27.

⁴⁹ Discussed in Chap. XVI below.

⁵⁰ A manuscript article on this subject which was evidently published in the New Orleans *Commercial Times* is in the Affleck Papers. The issue of the paper containing the article has not been located. See *Almanac*, 1851-1860, *passim*.

from his efforts were never sufficient, however, to provide for his family satisfactorily or to pay his debts. Although his nursery sales grossed between \$8,000 and \$9,000 a year after 1851 the expenses were great.⁵¹ Labor costs took a large share of the returns.⁵² It was necessary to purchase expensive fertilizers because of the infertility of the soil at Ingleside.⁵³ Collections were not always sure and many losses resulted from the failure of plants to arrive at their destination safely.⁵⁴ Although nursery sales were greatly increased by his publications, especially the Almanac, there were few if any other profits from his writings after 1851.⁵⁵ Thus, it is not surprising that Affleck became more and more dissatisfied. Migration to Texas was the solution found by many people faced by similar difficulties, and Affleck's interest in this section of the United States grew during the early 1850's.

⁵¹ This is surmised from the accounts he kept during the season 1854-1855, which seems to have been typical. Between November, 1854, and March 10, 1855, he filled orders amounting to \$8,650. There were several orders made after this period but the season was calculated for the months as above. Account Book, 1854-1856, pp. 102-158. See also, ibid., 179-233; Affleck to A. B. Allen, December 11, 1854.

⁵² See Memorandum Book, December 25, 1854; January 23, March 3, 19, April 11, November 22, 1855, at passim.

⁵³ Ibid., passim. Affleck to Castillo and Harispe, July 6, 1854.

⁵⁴ See Account Book, 1854-1856, passim. Notations on the margins indicate that numerous orders were never paid for and others were settled only in part.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 204-205. The accounting for the Almanac for 1854 which was a typical year indicates that the only profits were exchanges for advertising.

III

TEXAS LANDS

The interest of Mississippians in emigration to Texas had been whetted by many factors during the two decades prior to 1850.¹ Even before annexation, unlimited publicity had aroused the appetite for speculation in, and settlement of, the rich and vast lands in Texas. Newspapers and periodicals in the South played up opportunities in Texas, and in spite of obvious exaggerations, convinced many readers that the region offered substantial advantages.² Anyone with promotion ability might be able to profit from poorly drawn land laws and from the speculator's need for prospective clients. For a man like Affleck, whose interests were spread among railroads, shipping, cattle raising, manufacturing, and every possible type of speculation, Texas was indeed the promised land.³

Affleck's correspondence presents a list of the problems which he was confident would be solved by his removal to Texas. Living conditions would be improved, for the necessity of maintaining a household in keeping with his wealthy neighbors or of returning the hospitality of the older planter society of Mississippi would be eliminated. His credi-

1 James E. Winston, "Texas Annexation Sentiment in Mississippi, 1835-1844," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIII (1920), 1-20; *id.*, "The Mississippi Whigs and the Annexation of Texas," *ibid.*, XXIX (1926), 161-80; *id.*, "The Lost Commission: A Study in Mississippi History," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, V (1919), 158-89; H. Donaldson Jordan, "A Politician of Expansion," *ibid.*, XIX (1933), 362-81; Justin H. Smith, The Annexation of Texas (New York, 1919), *passim*, especially, 53, 208-209, 262, 299.

2 See, for example, De Bow's Review, V (1848), 316-24; VI (1848), 153, 364-65; VII (1849), 273, 368, 478 ff.; VIII (1850), 159, 195-97, 200, 238; X (1850), 77-78, 336, 357, 453-54, 464, 627-45, *et seq.* In nearly every issue of the New Orleans Picayune and Commercial Times which circulated widely in Mississippi there was some item concerning Texas.

3 See Cole, "The Early Life of Thomas Affleck," *passim*.

tors would be farther away and their demands less embarrassing. By 1854 Affleck's expenses had become ruinous, for he was obliged to buy most of the food and clothing for his family and slaves. In Texas, the slave labor problem would be diminished because of the need for workers during the entire year and the small amount necessary for their support.⁴ Furthermore, abolitionism was believed to be less prevalent there.⁵

The diversification which was possible in the new state with its cheap and plentiful lands would offer an opportunity to make the farming unit self-supporting. For example, the land adapted itself to the animals that were necessary for provisioning and working the plantation, and the cattle industry in particular could be made profitable to the plantation owner. In addition to the great staples of the older states it was said that an abundance of grapes, tobacco, rice, millet, wheat, peas, corn, indigo, and innumerable other products could be raised in Texas. Such crops proved impracticable where land was dear and had to

⁴ These factors encouraging removal are given as a result of consulting hundreds of Affleck's letters. See for example, Affleck to J. H. S. Stanley, March 24, 1854; *id.* to Colonel L. H. Groce, June 30, 1854; *id.* to B. M. Norman, July 12, 1854; *id.* to Dr. C. B. Stewart, January 27, 1855; *id.* to S. Gerard, October 21, 1856; *id.* to Danrell and Moore, January 16, 1855; *id.* to W. O. Hickok, March 17, 1857; *id.* to Calvin Smith, March [?], 1858. See for causes of emigration to Texas, Avery Craven, "The Turner Theories and the South," in *Journal of Southern History*, V (1939), 303 ff.; Charles W. Ramsdall, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (1930), 153-55; Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States*, 907.

⁵ Affleck to Robert W. Scott, September 3, 1856; *id.* to Norman, July 12, 1854. See also, *id.* to H. M. Labat, November 20, 1854; *id.* to G. B. Bagley and Company, December 12, 1855; *id.* to James D. Cage, March 22, 1856; *id.* to Dr. F. A. W. Davis, January 16, 1857.

be used to the best advantage for cash return. It was suggested that the cost of provisioning a place in Texas would be only one eighth of that in Louisiana or Mississippi.⁶

De Bow's Review in 1847 carried an article typical of the current writing concerning Texas, that illustrated the ease with which an industrious man could support himself in that section. An instance was cited of a farmer who in January planted "a small piece of ground in Irish potatoes. As soon as the crop matured, he dug the potatoes, and plowing the ground afresh, planted it in Indian corn; when the fodder was gathered, he threw up ridges between the corn rows and set out the sweet potato vine, which now promises an abundant crop. After digging the potatoes in the fall he intends sowing turnip seed on the same ground," thus realizing four crops a year. It proved to the writer that Texas was a "good country for an industrious man--for a Yankee, a Scotchman, an Englishman, a German--for anybody but a drunkard and an Irishman." The state was reported to be exceptionally healthful, differing in that respect from other frontiers of the United States. The bottom lands would appear to be sickly with the "fever and ague" but they were generally well drained and there were few complaints from Texas settlers. Thus the reports ran.⁷

Thomas Affleck's interest in Texas had grown with expanding nursery sales there and accompanying correspondence. A favorable notice of his

⁶ *De Bow's Review*, V (1848), 322; "Texas Lands," *ibid.*, VII (1850), 63-64.

⁷ Peter W. Gantier, "Resources and Progress of Texas," *ibid.*, IV (1847), 320. See also, *ibid.*, X (1851), 236, 357, 454, 464.

Eastern Farmer and Gardener Almanac, which appeared in the Houston Telegraph and Register, gave him an introduction to Texans as early as 1841. As he became more closely identified with the solution of southern and southwestern agricultural problems, his reputation as a judicious and thoughtful counselor was enhanced. In fact, his writings in farm periodicals and newspapers and the widespread circulation of the Almanac and Plantation Journal and Account Books soon made him as well known in Texas as in other states.⁸

In correspondence with purchasers of nursery products and with his sales agents, Affleck saw the advantages to be derived from gaining a personal knowledge of Texas.⁹ If he were to be as well informed as his position demanded he must get more firsthand information. During 1853 he concluded that he should shortly visit the state and make a thorough study of it with the view of getting more orders for nursery products and advertisements for his publications. At the same time he could satisfy his curiosity.¹⁰

An estimated income of \$5,000 from Texas purchases of nursery stock, approximately two thirds of all his sales,¹¹ prompted an immediate

⁸ Houston Telegraph and Register, October 20, 1841; Matt R. Evans to Affleck, November 18, 1846; Charles B. Stewart to id., February 1, 1847; October 13, 1850.

⁹ Affleck to O. O. Woodman, April 12, 1854; id. to J. W. and R. E. Talbot, March 20, 1854; id. to William M. Murphy, March 24, 1854; id. to T. S. House and Company, February 12, March 24, 1854.

¹⁰ Id. to Norman, February 14, 1854; id. to D. R. Carroll, February 15, 22, 1854; id. to T. S. House and Company, March 1, 1854; id. to N. N. John, March 1, 1854; id. to J. W. and R. E. Talbot, March 20, 1854; id. to William M. Goodrich, April 14, 1854; id. to J. H. S. Stanley, March 24, 1854; id. to Reverend R. L. Stanton, April 12, 1854; id. to O. O. Woodman and Company, April 12, 1854.

¹¹ Id. to Carroll, Pritchard and Company, April 7, 1855. This was probably

decision. In the early part of 1854 the trip was arranged. There were collections to be made and he felt sure that the money owed him in various parts of Texas would be more readily forthcoming if he could make his demands in person.¹² He had experienced difficulty in organizing sales in Texas, and although he had influential houses taking orders for him, the cost of handling took much of the profit. Besides shipping and handling charges there was a 20 per cent commission if the sale were made by an agent.¹³ Often 2-1/2 per cent more had to be paid for cashing the acceptances when money was needed immediately.¹⁴ Affleck's prices were based on absorption of such charges by the purchaser, but when sales were slow the prices had to be lowered. Unless the volume were large and collections good there was little chance of getting a fair return on shipments.¹⁵ Transactions would be more profitable if he could make definite arrangements for handling the sales and collections.

A series of articles on the state were also planned. These should prove interesting to readers of his newspaper articles and his Almanac, and would show his grasp of southern problems. He hoped also to increase

somewhat exaggerated but a large share of the orders were from Texas. Account Book, 1854-1856.

12 Id. to Norman, February 14, 1854; id. to D. R. Carroll, February 15, 22, 1854; id. to T. S. House and Company, February 13, March 1, 24, 1854; id. to John, March 1, 1854; id. to J. W. and R. E. Talbot, March 16, 1854.

13 Id. to T. S. House and Company, March 1, 24, 1854; id. to John, March 1, 1854. These were factors or agents at Houston and Galveston, respectively.

14 Id. to H. Gilly, September 15, 1854.

15 Id. to D. R. Carroll, February 22, 1854; id. to T. S. House and Company, February 22, March 1, December 18, 1854; id. to John, March 1, 1854.

16

the interest in his Almanac in that area.

Although others were scheduled to accompany Affleck, when the time for departure came he and his stepson Calvin went alone. Several neighbors had expressed interest in the trip but their working seasons¹⁷ did not coincide with those of a nurseryman. Soon after April 20,¹⁸ 1854, Affleck departed¹⁹ and for the next six weeks he was traveling through Louisiana and Texas. There is no record of his exact itinerary although he mentions in his Almanac for 1855 some of the places he visited. He traveled over a large part of East Texas below²⁰ 31°, as far west as Grimes County, and south to the Brazos River. The trip would have been more extensive had it not been for the flooded rivers and the impassable condition of the roads. Affleck had confirmed his belief, however, that Texas offered many encouragements to the emigrant and he resolved to move there.

The Mississippian realized now more than ever the importance of Texas for his future plans. Due largely to mismanagement the Almanac's

16 Id. to O. O. Woodham and Company, April 12, 1854; id. to Norman, February 14, 1854.

17 Id. to Norman, February 14, 1854; id. to Goodrich, April 14, 1854; id. to Woodman, April 19, 1854. Calvin was the son of Mrs. Affleck and her former husband Calvin Smith. He was away at school much of the time. He died in 1859 upon returning from Edinburgh, Scotland. There were two sons of Affleck and his wife living, Dunbar, born October 27, 1844, and Johnny, born in November, 1857. One son, Thomas Affleck, Jr., had died at the age of 10 in 1853. Affleck was 42 years old in 1852 and his wife was several years younger. Affleck to Stroud and Company, January 31, 1855; Dunbar to Mrs. Affleck, October 29, 1864; Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, November 3, 1864.

18 Affleck to Woodman, April 19, 1854.

19 Almanac, 1855, p. 33.

20 Ibid.; Affleck to Austin Bryant, July 4, 1854.

reception there had been disappointing.²¹ He had promised the Texas advertisers that the Almanac carrying their imprints would not have the names of competing New Orleans firms in prominent places. This promise, however, had not been kept.²² Affleck's explanation was that the printers had, against his orders, placed the New Orleans advertisements to the back of the book in the Texas edition. While the printers must bear some of the blame, the responsibility was mainly Affleck's.²³ He selected the position for the advertisements and guaranteed a minimum circulation. Without the Texas orders it was impossible to approach the guaranteed number. It was therefore necessary for him to allow the New Orleans advertisements to occupy their usual positions in the Texas editions. Since the Almanac had, from its beginning, served as a main entrance into new fields of enterprise, care must be taken to undo some of the damage done and increase its influence in Texas.

Affleck thus began a campaign in Texas to influence public opinion more favorably toward his work. For the next few years much effort was spent in gaining the friendship of Texas newspaper editors and other influential persons. His first advertisement, costing some \$25, was sent to the Nacogdoches Chronicle in July, 1854. Almanacs and nursery stock, usually the surplus, were gratuitously distributed. Much valuable nursery produce was sold to people whom Affleck doubted were good

²¹ Affleck to F. M. Dansby, June 21, 1854; *id.* to Woodman, July 5, 1854; *id.* to Sherman and Wharton, July 7, 1854. He collected only \$10 out of over \$400 which was due.

²² Affleck placed the imprint of an advertiser on the title page if an order of 500 was given. Almanac, 1854, p. 1.

²³ Affleck to Woodman, July 5, 1854.

debtors because he wished his nursery to be widely known. He graciously²⁴ offered his services and advice to Texas correspondents.

The emigration movement to Texas afforded Affleck an opportunity to use his influence for personal profit. Although he often attempted schemes that were at best not wholly meritorious nor as unselfish as he would at times make them appear, nevertheless, he was able to excuse himself. There was no conscious avariciousness on Affleck's part when he attempted to take advantage of wants among his acquaintances. They were usually in need of an entrepreneur and if he professed to be less materially interested than he was, it was more or less characteristic of current business ethics. Naïve as some of his explanations appear they were the words of a truly public spirited man who was forced to realize profits where he could to avert ruin. Affleck's conscience was being salved as much as the suspicions of his business associates when he wrote the following paragraph to a friend who could aid him and at the same time be aided: "Now, I am some what on the fence. I have labored hard for many years, here in the South with my pen, in aid of Agricultural improvement. I have yet to receive the first dollar in the way of substantial return. Here is an opportunity of doing so, without anyone being the loser. If I can, thro' the influence I may have gained, direct this [emigration] movement to a good body of land, I will

24 Id. to E. W. Cave, editor of the Hacogdoches Chronicle, July 21, 1854; id. to Carroll, Pritchard and Company, December 20, 1854; id. to Stanley, December 18, 1854; id. to J. W. Barnes, January 25, 1855; id. to W. Prehn and Company, January 27, 1855; id. to John, January 31, 1855; Memorandum Book, January 23, 1855.

derive some benefit without injury to any of the party. If I have to purchase after a settlement is made & lands enhanced thereby, I shall²⁵ be loser without benefit to any party."

In organizing his Texas land-speculation program Affleck's first move was to convince the landowners that his services would be invaluable in disposing of their property. Meanwhile, potential purchasers must have sufficient confidence in his leadership to follow his advice. To landowners Affleck offered to take his commission in lands if located in a section that would please him. They must be at the cheapest rate, however. Having encouraged the movement he did not wish to pay the increased price caused thereby. Affleck could lead the emigrants wherever he wished, he said, and thus promote sales for certain landowners who otherwise might have to wait years for settlers. The purchaser would be pleased because the resulting community would be much more pleasant than an isolated settlement in a new country with none of the amenities of society. Affleck would get his land at a minimum--or free. All²⁶ would profit.

The best lands in Texas were not easily procured. Although Affleck attempted to interest those who had well-located holdings in his propositions there were many problems involved. Grimes County land seemed best

25 *Id.* to Austin Bryant, July 4, 1854. This was often expressed in his correspondence when he was entering upon speculative ventures.

26 *Id.* to Goodrich, July 3, November 4, 1854; *id.* to J. W. Barnes, July 4, 1854; *id.* to Bryant, July 4, 1854; *id.* to Colonel Albert C. Ramsey, November 4, 1854; *id.* to Carroll, Fritchard and Company, January 23, 1855; *id.* to Alexander Ropy, January 25, October 18, 1854.

for his purpose but the particular property that he had in mind was not extensive enough for a considerable number of emigrants. Affleck wrote soon after his return from Texas that he wished to get five or six leagues together. "I know that I can take out 15 or more families; & if, lands & good lands too, can be bought at \$1. p acre, we can easily double upon it, & cover all expenses, &c. Of course this is all between ourselves & our wives." It would be impossible, however, for him to invest in anything "high-priced" at the time. He asked for an answer immediately "as it might determine my purchases elsewhere."²⁷

On July 4, 1854, Affleck sent three revealing letters offering landholders his services. To Austin Bryant, of Velasco in South Texas, he wrote: "I have three separate regions in view, where I have secured the privilege of purchase at prices to suit [the Mississippi neighbors]. I know not at what they can buy, but believe that they can buy at fair prices. But none of the tracts suit my particular business and tastes so well, as the league you and your brothers own near Grimes' Prairie.... If I could secure that, or even the 3/4ths of it, I would be content; & would send you, customers I verily believe, for your Yegua, Brasos, & Washington Co. lands. I should still like, however, to have the 1,200 acres I wrote you of, for a friend, & if your reply is favorable, will secure it also." He explained further that it was his plan to establish a nursery in Texas that fall and that he would be out in September. The propositions that he had to offer would have definite advantages to all

²⁷ Id. to L. H. Groce, June 30, 1854.

concerned. "Sell...~~for~~^{for} your undivided interests, & I will trust to your influence & Col. Groce's with Mr. Hill, to induce him, in the division, to take the East quarter on which Ogg lives. I presume that the prospect of the enhancement to the value of his tract, by the establishment of a vast, & ~~notorious commercial~~ nursery adjoining it, would induce him to accede--especially as it is by no means second to any other of the other quarters. But the location I want for my nursery having the exposures & the qualities of soil, lies to the West." He would agree to pay them \$3 per acre for the tract. As further inducement he explained that he was at that time engaged in writing "a series of familiar letters for publication, descriptive of what I saw & learnt & know of Texas." These articles, he intimated, could be tempered to suit the satisfaction of those who were favorably inclined toward the writer, and if he chose another piece of land it would be necessary for him to encourage sales in that section.²⁸

On the same day Affleck wrote to J. W. Barnes, of Anderson, Grimes County, Texas, concerning a similar land deal. On his return to Mississippi a lively interest had been displayed in emigration to Texas, he reported. His acquaintances and particularly his neighbors were keenly interested in the emigration movement and were looking for opportunities to make investments. "And now, my good Sir, What I write to you, must be strictly confidential. I would not seek to take advantage of any of those who propose forming a settlement which I might join.

²⁸ Id. to Bryant, July 4, 1854.

But I wish to derive what benefit I can from the settlement if made.

"I, myself, am more pleased with the league of Bryant's near Grimes's Prairie, if I can get it, will settle there, in all probability. If, however, you have secured me those two half leagues of McMahon's and McDowell's, I want to secure another league, if you can do so for me at not over \$1. I might even venture two leagues, if time can be had on the payments. And I would advise you to secure one also. If you have not been able to secure me those two half leagues, & a league besides, would I do wrong in seeking to divert the movement to any other equally good country where I can, first, secure me a good body of land before any excitement takes place? I think not."

"Will you, then, my dear Sir, go into the country at as early a date as possible, & examine it thoroughly; see what can be done in way of purchases--prices, terms &c. and be fully prepared, when the party goes out, to secure a league for yourself and one or even two for me; & at same time find them locations to suit them."²⁹

One characteristic of Affleck's comes to light in the third letter; that is, his insistence on getting every "iron in the fire." Affleck addressed William Goodrich, of the firm of Hyde and Goodrich of New Orleans, who was an interested party in an extensive speculative landholding in central Texas. Affleck believed that Goodrich, who did not desire to move to Texas, should be interested in making immediate sales and probably at low prices. Affleck explained that numerous neighbors

²⁹ Id. to J. W. Barnes, July 4, 1854.



had called upon him to hear his opinion of Texas. They had left him "resolved to go out this fall, with full determination to purchase land at oyer & terminer. They will be largely influenced, however, by my resolve to remove or not, & where to." The proposal offered by Affleck, he believed, was one clearly to the advantage of everyone concerned: "Now, if I owned half interest in yr. Limestone Co. lands, I would accompany them there, this fall; see the parties holding conflicting claims, & improvements, we reserving half or two-thirds. For instance, a relocater claims 1500 acres, & would like \$1. or \$2. as the case may be, with the privilege of lifting his warrant for relocation elsewhere; the buyer pays the \$1,500 or \$3,000, we give him a title to 500 or 750 acres, as can be arranged--by which he gets a good farm at a moderate price, & we save a good portion without farther difficulty, which would be, by such settlement, greatly enhanced in value. But better still, if you would risk a farther investment of cash, enough to pay all conflicting claims, & have the whole in our own hands."

30 The lands in Texas served throughout its early history as a basis for speculation. Many of the claims were based upon titles of doubtful validity and this in part explained the low prices demanded for them. From time to time the legislature of the state had attempted to bring some order out of the chaos, and the lobbyists of the landholders swarmed to the capital. If the large landholders could sell the lands before they were taken away from them there would be little if any attempt to remove actual settlers from their holdings.

The maze of land grants was almost unintelligible. For example, unlocated lands meant not only lands that had not been claimed and were therefore vacant, but also unlocated claims. Certificates of headrights and all military claims and warrants that had not been laid, i.e., located or surveyed, were called unlocated lands. Much of this unlocated land was

If the lands in Texas could be so arranged that the claims to them could be definitely established he would be willing to trade a half interest in his Mississippi place for Texas lands. After making some arrangements he would then remove with his family and gradually transfer his nursery. This trade should be effected at once before he made other

claimed by large landholders who had managed to get grants from the Texan Republic government or earlier from the Mexican government.

It was necessary for one to be familiar with the history of land claims and the Texas land laws to understand the ramifications of the different types of claims. Besides those of the eleven league grants to the Empresarios the most numerous were those growing out of the War of Independence. All citizens of Texas, Negroes and Indians excepted, at the Declaration of Independence, March 2, 1836, were entitled to receive one league and labor for each head of a family, and one-third league for a single man. (A league was 4,414 acres; a labor 177). Some had already received this land through colonial grants, but many who had not received the full amount were given varying measures to make up to the specified amount. Even Mexicans who had not taken up arms against Texas were to receive lands. And then to further confuse things those who were single at the Declaration of Independence and had married before October 1, 1837, were given enough land to bring their grant up to the regular family allotment. Thus there were all sizes of headrights: league and labor, leagues, labors, quarter leagues, 369 acre augmentations, one-fourth and one-third league augmentations, and two-thirds league and labor. And there were first class headrights and conditional headrights: conditional upon the persons removing for three years and performing a citizen's duty, military and civil service, if it was required. All of the conditional grants were to be located upon the vacant lands of the state. Some of these warrants were transferable; others not. Some that appeared were spurious. Squatters often paid no attention to application for lands.

Too, the Republic had issued much script in order to get credit for her needs. Much of this had been recalled and cancelled and much counterfeit had been sold. Wild speculation was possible: people traded warrants and land script from Texas like horses; great numbers of planters, in the older states, held lands or script or warrants in Texas--some hoped to go there, others merely speculated. Reuben McKittrick, The Public Land System of Texas, 1823-1910 (Madison, 1918), 25-87; Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 636-38; Frank W. Johnson, Eugene C. Barker, and Ernest W. Winkler, A History of Texas and Texans, 5 vols. (Chicago, 1914), I, 187, 336, 488, 507, 566, 601, 607; Stewart to Affleck, February 1, 1847.

arrangements and before the neighbors went out without his guidance. Further, it would be well for Goodrich and his associates to act before he published his articles on Texas. The following plan was presented for Goodrich's consideration: "You make me a sale of all the lands that may be yet saved, of all your claims at \$ 100/an acre. To save them, you institute suit, employing a notoriously prominent lawyer whom they are all likely to know, in the Federal Court. I will take up the subjects of those 11 League claims thro' the local papers, among of course, in a general way, pointing out the advantage to the claimants of compromising at once, whilst they can lift their warrants, & still relocate them on good lands, & so on. You then give me power to negotiate, & funds to buy them out, where most advisable--which funds shall be repaid to you, with interest, out of the proceeds....I to have permission to reserve for my own home, a half league, at the price (rate) I pay for the whole half interest--the entire proceeds of sale; made less what may be needed for mere current expenses of effecting sales, to be paid to you, until the cost of the half league reserved, & of the sum I agree to pay for a half interest, is all paid to you. Though I would much prefer making you a trade of my property here, as far as it will go....A dozen such families as propose to remove with me would run up the value of lands in whatever neighborhood they settled, to a great extent & at a rapid rate." Affleck explained that he was aware that lands could be had in Texas with good titles for 50 cents to \$1. He had already bought a league in the upper part of Grimes County, he said, and would lead the movement there if this proposal did not

31
 materialize. Affleck assured Goodrich that he could raise emigrant "fever or cool it off" as the case might be for any section of the country but added that this was "between the two" of them. In closing he warned: "There is some considerable personal risk in interfering with disputed land claims, & especially 11 league claims in Texas. Several persons have been shot down from behind trees."³²

Later in the year Affleck was making inquiries about lands around San Antonio. If property could be had at a favorable price he would not be adverse to settling there and turning the tide of emigration in that direction. He offered to place a branch of his nursery near San Antonio if cheap, rich soil were available. To Alexander Ropy, a prominent citizen and merchant of New Braunfels, Affleck wrote that, although he was not particularly interested in the section, he would be willing merely for friendship's sake to make a deal if it would be of mutual advantage. "Although I just completed the purchase today, of a Sound Texas headright, of 640 acres, for \$160, or 25¢ per acre, & can locate it on good land in Montgomery Co., I am yet inclined to accede to your proposition. ³³ Provided, you will see me a good lot

31 This was a misstatement although he had had correspondence concerning Grimes County lands.

32 Id. to Goodrich, July 3, 1854.

33 Id. to Stewart, January 27, 1855. The warrant mentioned to Ropy was purchased from a widow of a soldier in the Texas Revolutionary army. In requesting information concerning its value he explained: "The warrant seems all right. I know the parties here. It purports to be the Headright of Isiah Bray, the warrant being unconditionally granted to his widow, Mrs. Caroline Lyon, late widow of Isiah Bray--No. 233, 3rd class, for 640 acres, granted at Matagorda (county seat of) 5th July 1852, and transferred to me 26th Jany. 1855." Affleck added, however, that he had made a draft of \$150 payable on March 1 so that he would not be taking any risk if the warrant were worthless.

or lots of not less than 640 acres each, of land embracing some timber, and well located, at \$04 per acre, on the Colorado, not more than 100 miles North of Austin. Or, if you will designate certain lots and their prices, so that I can find them--giving me the option of selecting at any time before the 1st June next--I will ship you Boxes No. to amount of not over \$600--trusting to your honour to do me justice in the matter, when I go out in May, or through any one I may send to you."³⁴

By the spring of 1855 Affleck had concluded that it would be to his best interest to establish a branch nursery in Texas and later to remove there.³⁵ It was with the definite purpose of procuring lands that he arranged another trip to the state.³⁶ It was given more thought and thus was better planned than the first. Discarding a coastwise alternative that would cost \$250, Affleck decided on a less expensive overland route via Alexandria, Burrs (Hickman's) Ferry, and Danville, and thence over as much of Texas as time and money permitted. He also hoped to get orders and make collections along the route. Several creditors had to be content with promise of certain payment on his return so that funds could be reserved to purchase tents, camp stools, wagons, teams, and other supplies and to pay traveling expenses. Affleck, his wife, and sons, were ready to leave on April 22.³⁷

³⁴ *Id.* to Roy, October 18, 1854.

³⁵ *Id.* to Goodrich, November 4, 1854; *id.* to Colonel Albert C. Ramsey, November 4, 1854; *id.* to Carroll, Pritchard and Company, January 23, 1855.

³⁶ *Id.* to Groce, April 2, 1855; *id.* to B. A. Sheppard, April 2, 1855; *id.* to H. Cassidy, April 3, 1855; *id.* to L. Adminault, April 3, 1855.

³⁷ *Id.* to S. H. Wright, April 17, 1855; *id.* to B. A. Sheppard, April 2,

They were accompanied by a Negro girl and man servant both of whom were the most trusted and valuable of the Affleck slaves.³⁸

Bad roads and wet weather made the trip more expensive than had been expected. In his Almanac Affleck described the route which was followed but reported none of the difficulties encountered because the articles were designed to encourage emigration. They crossed "the state from where the line of 31° intersects the Sabine, to San Antonio, where took a northeastwardly course homewards. We traveled with family, baggage-wagons and tents, camping out through the entire journey....We signagged no little seeing as much of the country as was possible during the time."³⁹ The trip was not as extensive as had been planned, although it took three months. As Mrs. Affleck was interested in finding a location for a new home, only the more settled areas were visited.⁴⁰

While in the state Affleck purchased from Samuel M. Williams of Brazoria and Galveston a 3,400-acre plot in the most desirable section of Washington County. It embraced both rich rolling and bottom land with abundant streams and springs. It was as good as any that Affleck had seen, and was purchased for \$3 per acre, the usual price for good

1855; id. to Stanley, March 25, 1855; id. to Croce, July 23, 1855; id. to George C. Sheppard, July 23, 1855.

³⁸ Affleck to Stewart, August 9, 1855.

³⁹ Almanac, 1856, p. 7.

⁴⁰ id. to H. Kennenworth, July 23, 1855.

⁴¹unimproved property. The land was bought from one of the most notorious land speculators in the state. While Affleck had had some correspondence with Williams concerning nursery purchases,⁴² there is no reason to suppose that the latter had ever been approached concerning Affleck's land promotions.⁴³ Affleck thus gave up his grandiose plans for getting free lands for a home in Texas. Mrs. Affleck who was not always enthusiastic concerning her husband's speculative enterprises, must have had much to do with the decision.

Upon his return from Texas on July 21 Affleck found many letters demanding payment of long-standing debts, but he had no more money than when he left. In fact, he had spent much more than he had planned, as the trip had cost almost \$600.⁴⁴ Excessive expenses and the failure to collect made it impossible for him to pay old debts. He reported the purchase of the Texas lands to his creditors, however, and explained that this investment would make it possible for him to meet his obliga-

⁴¹ Washington County Deed Record Books, V, 82-83; Affleck to Vilmorin, Andrieux, and Company, August 2, 1855; *id.* to J. F. Ernst, September 21, 1855; *id.* to Frederick Fissler, September 21, 1855.

⁴² *Id.* to Samuel M. Williams, December 23, 1855, in Williams Papers (Rosenberg Library, Galveston).

⁴³ *Id.* to Vilmorin, Andrieux and Company, August 2, 1855; *id.* to J. F. Ernst, September 21, 1855; *id.* to William Williams, March 13, 1857, in Williams Papers.

⁴⁴ The Negro woman whom his wife had carried along on the trip had become sick when they were about to return and it had been necessary for him to borrow \$300 from Sheppard and Company of Houston in order to bring her back by boat. In repaying this loan, which Affleck did almost immediately, he had to pay 10 per cent interest for its use for a little less than a month. There was no complaint about the interest charge, showing that it was not then considered exorbitant. His prompt payment was doubtless influenced by his desire to establish a good reputation among factors in Texas. *Id.* to B. A. Sheppard, August 17, 1855.

tions sooner than otherwise.⁴⁵

Affleck's correspondence after his Texas journey reveals his continued interest in land-sales promotion. After the purchase of the land in Washington County the formula by which Affleck hoped to profit from speculation varied somewhat from the former plan. Before, he had tried to get landholders to encourage him to move to a certain section by giving him property outright or by selling it to him at prices much below the market value. Now, however, he emphasized his ability to sell land on commission. The large landowners were made to understand that Affleck could still influence considerable numbers of people to go wherever he suggested.⁴⁶

In writing to Dr. C. B. Stewart, a friend with whom he had corresponded and whom he had visited in 1854, he reported that he believed he had found a purchaser for the Texan's Montgomery County property. Affleck wondered if his friend would permit him to make a "penny" on the transaction: "Hundreds" of people had called upon him for information and advice concerning the state and he knew that he could influence them. What would be the lowest cash price that Stewart would be willing to take for the property? Of course, if an arrangement were made whereby Affleck would profit through giving advice, it must be known only to the two of them and their wives. All transactions would be more certain of rewards for both if all the transactions were handled by Affleck. "Send

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; *id.* to Stewart, August 9, 1855; *id.* to Vilmorin, Andrieux and Company, August 2, 1855.

⁴⁶ *Id.* to Stewart, August 9, 1855; *id.* to Ropy, August 16, 1855; *id.* to John W. Duncan, September 28, 1855.

me, without delay, your advert. of that and other tracts--If I sell, I will charge you the regular rates. If not, or you do not sell within the year I will make no charge."⁴⁷

W. E. Howard who resided near Navasota was soon informed that Affleck could furnish a purchaser for his lands. The price desired was to be stated, and all over that amount received by Affleck was to be his commission. As in other cases where he served as middle man Affleck was risking the chance that the persons with whom he had talked might make an independent trade. A notation on the letter in the copybook shows the following: "Address, on subject of Howard's land, H. Nouvet, care Duhamel, N. O. \$1,700 cash, or \$1,800, \$800 down & \$1,000 in 1 yr. with 10 per cent due."⁴⁸ On August 15 Affleck wrote to Nouvet and stated the price shown in the notation, but he failed to tell the name of the man with whom he was to make the final deal nor was he apprised of the fact that the price was set solely on the responsibility of Affleck. The transaction, if it materialized, was wholly in the hands of the realtor.⁴⁹

Another proposal that Affleck made is worthy of attention, for it not only shows the inclusiveness of the Mississippian's current plans but also gives an insight into his immigration schemes of the Reconstruction period. In a letter to Ropy concerning nursery sales⁵⁰ Affleck

⁴⁷ *Id.* to Stewart, August 9, 1855. Stewart advertised his land in the Almanac for 1856. Account Book, 1855-1856, p. 205.

⁴⁸ Affleck to W. E. Howard, August 9, 1855. See also *id.* to John W. Duncan, September 28, 1855.

⁴⁹ *Id.* to H. Nouvet, August 21, 1855.

⁵⁰ *Id.* to Ropy, August 16, 1855.

explained that he had an interest in the welfare of the Germans who were settling in the region around New Braunfels. If he could get a good sketch of that section he would be glad to write some articles designed to "remove some of the Know-nothing prejudice of the German population of the state." He would thus give slaveholders a feeling of security by making the newcomers more desirable southern citizens. Affleck felt he could convince them that it would be to their advantage to set their "faces, determinately, against all interference, or appearance of interference with slavery." As his own lands were located near German settlers, the letter indicates his own anxieties.

After such amenities he passed on to a matter of immediate interest. "By the way--I am offered a league of land, on fair terms, lying & being in Martens Fork on the Blanco. How would you like to join me in it & let us lay off & improve a little, & sell in small lots to German Emigrants? If I purchase, & lay off &c. & leave you to manage afterwards, make a few roads, perhaps, & bring into market, manage sales &c. There is money to be made & lots of it too, in that sort of speculation. I can secure tracts of fair land, in out of the way places, which could very easily be brought into notice, laid off into farms &c. & sold to bodies of settlers at paying prices. But I should like to enlist some one, who speaks & writes both languages, & who is at same time an active business man. A plausibly written sheet, translated into German & scattered amongst them at the port of embarkation--setting forth, plainly & truly, everything connected with the lands & district of country in which they lie. There are some fine lands on the Yegua, where I am confident that I know of localities where

water can be got readily by boring artesian wells, that would suit well for such speculations. There are many branches of manufacture in which they could be successfully engaged, with a little aid & counsel. Willow growing & basket making for instance. Pottery. Wagon making &c. &c. Building concrete houses on contract. Growing vegetable seeds for me at paying prices. And so on."⁵¹

Later in the next month, September, appears another interesting letter. Stewart and Affleck had become increasingly friendly and it seemed to the latter that it would not be amiss to propose more plans for mutual profit. Immediate prospect of sale of Stewart's land was reported. "I have made up my mind to go through myself with the gentlemen I expect to sell yr farm to; leaving here about the 15th. I am sending out some hands to prepare for young nursery stock upon my place, & will be going round, about the 15th proxo., by Galveston &c.; but this Mr. Case is a young lawyer, who married a rich widow, an excellent woman....He goes prepared to be asked \$10,000 cash, & would look upon \$9,000 as a bargain. Whatever sale you make to him or his friend, I claim 10 per cent as my commission. You will make the sale. I will merely aid you in doing so. So you can make such bargain as you choose, keeping my commission in view."⁵²

Land speculation returned little if any direct profit to Affleck. He had entered wholeheartedly into the promising promotions but more

⁵¹ Id. to id., August 25, 1855.

⁵² Id. to Stewart, September 5, 1855.

immediate problems were now to demand his attention to such an extent that little effort could be expended in the fascinating game.⁵³ He was destined to be so involved in keeping out of bankrupt court and in preparing to move to Texas that this and other schemes had to be forgotten for the time.

⁵³ He had at one time envisioned an immense plan whereby the lands of Texas could be dovetailed into the needs for building railroads. He had studied charters and believed that there was a need for his energies and knowledge. Lt. to B. A. Sheppard and Burke, July 5, 1855.

IV

EARLY PREPARATIONS FOR REMOVAL TO TEXAS

During the years 1856-1860 Affleck was busy accomplishing his removal to Texas. Even after four years of almost continual effort the task of settlement was not completed, although by 1859 he considered himself a Texan. The difficulties that he faced, although undoubtedly more serious than those undergone by many other similar emigrants, were in many ways typical of the problems of large-scale agriculturists who moved to new areas. In tracing his migration it is believed that an important reason will be made apparent why many people remained on their lands in older sections, although they might be no longer profitable, rather than move to new areas where economic security seemed assured. Regardless of personal problems and disarrangement of home and community life the necessity for large amounts of capital, or the ability to raise it, for removal of labor, implements, home supplies, and reorganization of them after settlement was almost insurmountable. The discussion of this phase of Affleck's career is treated for the most part chronologically because the continual harassments and recurring crises are thus made more evident.

By 1856 Affleck's interests and efforts were necessarily badly divided. He must attempt to make arrangements with creditors, carry on the regular work at his home place in Mississippi, and prepare for removal to Texas. During this period the Southern Nurseries and the Affleck publications were neglected to some extent; plans for his departure for Texas received the maximum attention.

As on previous occasions, financial difficulties faced Affleck.

The money owed him came in slowly.¹ There was little that he could do except explain his problems to his creditors and ask them to wait until he had opportunity to raise the funds necessary to pay them. It became more difficult, however, to explain his plans when creditors learned that he was entering into new and more extensive enterprises. To those who held overdue bills for plants and other supplies he excused his belated payments and asked for consideration.² Usually he spoke feelingly of the advantages of his move to Texas, from which everyone concerned would profit in the long run.³ Some creditors from whom he anticipated further favors were treated with more consideration than others. At the same time that he was complaining of the hard times and the difficulties of the season he was pressing his own debtors for payment.⁴ The money that he collected, however, was not used for settling indebtednesses.

During this period of contemplated removal and expansion Affleck made especial demands upon his factors. His relation with his principal agents in New Orleans, Carroll, Pritchard and Company, show the difficulties faced by factorage firms. Affleck's commission merchants were expected to render the usual services and more. They were called

1 Affleck to Cushing and Swain, July 7, 1856.

2 *Id.* to E. Johnson, January 22, May 8, 1856; *id.* to Barnes, Phelps and Putnam, February 13, 1856; *id.* to O. O. Woodman, May 6, 1856; *id.* to A. M. Holbrook, May 6, 1856.

3 *Id.* to William Fox, January 8, 1856; *id.* to O. O. Woodman, September 18, 1856; *id.* to A. M. Holbrook, October 17, 1856; *id.* to Parker and Craig, January 5, 1857.

4 *Id.* to Colonel Peck, January 12, 1856; *id.* to Hyde and Goodrich, January 12, 1856; *id.* to Carroll, Pritchard and Company, January 14, 23, 1856; *id.* to J. K. Johnson, May 6, 1856.

upon to furnish credit for short terms and long, make collections and handle acceptances, purchase supplies, and undertake many incidental tasks. Besides they must screen their client from embarrassing overdrafts. Although commission merchants usually profited handsomely in safe ventures, the risks assumed in Affleck's case were great and the profits were small. Of necessity they often handled business deals without directions and received sharp criticisms for their mistakes. It was necessary at times to discount drafts on unknown persons or firms and stand the risk of losing the whole if the account were a bad one.⁵ Collections for ~~Almanac~~ advertisements illustrate the risks in handling Affleck's business. He took orders and accepted drafts payable in sixty or ninety days or even longer periods. These were sent to the factor who permitted Affleck to draw upon him for cash less a commission for handling, usually 2-1/2 per cent or more if the drafts ran over ninety days. At times the factor could realize upon the drafts immediately by selling them to firms that specialised in that kind of business, but often it was necessary to take legal action to collect, and then some were not paid. Affleck sometimes refused to endorse drafts that he had received in payment, and if the factor accepted them the whole risk was assumed. When Affleck was especially pressed for funds, as in 1856, he would send acceptances, which were no more than receipts, for the factor to hold as a basis of credit.

⁵ *Id.* to Carroll, Fritchard and Company, December 20, 1854; January 10, 14, 20, February 3, March 30, 1855; January 14, 23, 1856; *id.* to Leonard Fash and Company, October 29, November 25, 1856; *id.* to Burke and Perkins, July 27, 1857; *id.* to Robert Ogden, November 14, 1857.

Or in some instances the nurserymen would send goods out on sale, write a draft on the person receiving them, send it to the factor, and expect immediate credit for use in purchasing goods that he needed.⁶ Affleck in the end would be held responsible if payment were refused, but in the meantime he had passed another crisis, and the same procedure might be followed again. It is no surprise that Affleck was never able to find a factor, however often he changed, that wholly met his demands.⁷

Early in 1856, when he was using every means to raise funds for carrying out his various enterprises, Affleck ended his relations with Carroll, Pritchard and Company. The basic causes were the difficulties encountered in handling his business, but the immediate reason, which the company seemed to welcome, was a business transaction that caused Affleck no little embarrassment. He had written a rather harsh letter to Dr. H. W. Philips of Log Hall, Mississippi, demanding payment of a \$10 debt that was long past due. Philips also wrote to Carroll, Pritchard and Company, explaining the exchange of letters and reminding them that the debt had been settled. When Affleck was informed by the factor that a cash payment had been sent through the mails the nurserymen denied that such was the case, and added that he never had payments made in such fashion. Upon receipt of this letter the factor showed

⁶ *Id.* to Munn and Company, November 6, 1856; *id.* to Leonard Fash and Company, November 25, 1856; January 7, February 7, March 17, 1857; *id.* to Burke and Perkins, February 7, 1857.

⁷ *Id.* to William Cocker, February 13, 1858; *id.* to N. N. John, January 24, 1856.

several business associates the order from Affleck directing that the money be sent in cash to him at Washington. This angered Affleck greatly and he reproved the firm for their action in making the letter public in New Orleans and also for their remissness in not sending him a covering letter when the remittance was sent. He had to admit that in this case he had broken his general rule.⁸

The new factorage firm that Affleck chose was Leonard Fash and Company of New Orleans. In October it was necessary for him to write that he was expecting some freight and that they must accept it and pay charges until he could raise money to repay them.⁹ They must have handled the business satisfactorily, for they were given other assignments. They were warned by Affleck that they must be careful and prompt in handling freight. Collections were to be put to his credit and he would draw upon them.¹⁰ When he overdraw he excused it by the explanation of ignorance of the amount owed him.¹¹

Affleck was much bothered with the management of his publications during 1856. The Almanac for that year had been issued by a new printer, and it had been a continual worry. He complained of belated proof, poor paper, and generally unsatisfactory work. Many of the annuals were left

⁸ Id. to Carroll, Pritchard and Company, January 23, 1856. The problem of sending money through the mail was a most serious one. In many instances when people claimed to have sent money by mail Affleck would not receive it. This was blamed on various causes, carelessness or dishonesty of mail clerks, failure to include money, or misdirection of letters. Id. to N. N. John, January 24, 1856.

⁹ Id. to Leonard Fash and Company, October 29, 1856.

¹⁰ Id. to Id., November 25, 1856.

¹¹ See for example, Id. to Humm and Company, November 16, 1856.

undistributed because of late publication. Unless someone would take them in hand and push their sale and distribution the nursery business, largely dependent upon Almanac advertisement, would be a failure for the year.

His old friend and business partner in the publication of his Almanac, B. M. Norman, seemed to be the only one who could satisfactorily handle the work and keep on good terms with the compiler. On January 4, 1856, Affleck wrote to Norman concerning the future of the publication. Assistance was sought in distributing the 1856 edition; payment would be a small consideration, particularly if it were scattered through Texas. Norman was also requested to handle the edition for 1857. During the past season, Affleck wrote, he had realized only \$659.20, but if properly handled there would be a profit of \$2,800.00. Norman could expect that amount as net return for relieving Affleck of the trouble of handling them. All the author would ask as compensation would be the free use of 100 pages for advertisement. Norman, however, was unable to take over the publication and Affleck had to deal with a new printer.¹²

When his whole attention was needed for management of his two widely separated establishments Affleck was harassed with details of printing and selling. The continued issuance of the publication was necessary, however, to advertise the nursery and provide urgent publicity in Texas. As it was nearly impossible to find a satisfactory New

¹² Id. to B. M. Norman, January 4, 1856; Account Book, 1855-1856, pp. 204-205.

Orleans printer, and as a connection with a Texas newspaper was highly desirable, he decided to have the Almanac printed by Stewart, Durnett and Company, publisher of the Galveston Civilian and Gazette. They were willing to make a satisfactory contract and promised to procure Texas advertisements.¹³

Relations with the Galveston printers illustrate the many disappointments that Affleck suffered as a result of his inefficient management and divided interests. On October 8, 1856, he wrote the publishers, complaining of their inactivity. They had left him completely uninformed of the progress of the work, even at a time when the Almanac should have been nearly ready for distribution. A week later he complained because they had not sent proofs. The annual must be ready for sale by November 15, as stipulated in the contracts with advertisers and purchasers. He was also worried about the number of advertisements that the firm had procured from Texas businessmen. This had been a principal reason for printing the Almanac in Texas, he explained, and if they disappointed him the whole arrangement would be most unsatisfactory.¹⁴

On October 23 Affleck was still sending copy to the printers and it would appear that he was expecting to have the finished product in his hands by the middle of November. In the covering letter he again emphasized the need for haste. After the complaints the printers were

¹³ Id. to id., January 22, 1856; id. to Stewart, Durnett and Company, October 8, 17, 1856.

¹⁴ Id. to id., October 8, 17, 1856; id. to Norman, October 17, 1856. The relationship with the Galveston printers is typical of Affleck's difficulties with printers.

asked if they desired to enter a contract for the next year. He would expect a more favorable contract allowing him free use of 100 pages instead of 80 as before, but would promise to have the copy in by September 1.¹⁵

Relations with the Galveston publishers were not to be continued after 1856. A letter appears dated December 17, showing that Affleck was disgusted with their service. He excoriated the printers for failing to forward the Almanac to him on time; in fact, the firm had not even informed him as to the date when he might expect them. As a result, it would be impossible to make extensive nursery sales when he had not a single catalog or any sort of list to advertise his plants. He could not be expected to accept the Almanac, he warned, as the selling season at the nursery was practically over and his principal need for the annual was past. Furthermore, the nonappearance of the Almanac had caused people to believe that he had gone to Texas and was not filling orders.¹⁶

By January 7 Affleck had definitely resolved that he would not pay for the Almanac. Again he turned to Norman for sympathy and assistance. The printers had treated him most "rascally." They had sent him neither "a copy, nor a proof, nor a letter, nor a word on the subject." But they wanted to deliver "a large case of them to Fash

¹⁵ Id. to Stewart, Durnett and Company, October 23, 1856.

¹⁶ Id. to Stewart, Durnett and Brown, December 17, 1856. It will be noticed that the partnership had been reorganized in the meantime, which may explain their failure to answer Affleck's letters promptly.

and Co. for me, & claim payment for them. This I only learnt yesterday." However, he wanted "200 or 300 of them very much indeed. Can you procure them for me, without letting me appear in the matter? If so, send them up at once."¹⁷ The printers were taking no chances on receiving payment. Affleck needed the annuals but was not going to be placed in a position to be sued.

Affleck's profits from the Almanacs were derived from advertisements and the settlements for these were made with the editor. The circulation was less than guaranteed and the Almanacs were late, but this did not deter him from sending drafts on purchasers of advertising space, before the Almanacs had been distributed.¹⁸

The Plantation Journal and Account Book did not entail much preparation but arrangements for printing and distribution were often troublesome. In January, 1856, there was a considerable number on hand. Affleck attempted to raise cash by sending them out to agents on consignment, and asking for acceptances which would serve as a basis for credit whether the books were sold or not. Daniel Dealy of Montgomery, Texas, received some of the books without having ordered them. In explaining the mistake Affleck wrote that he thought an order had been received from Dealy. It was not his intention to send something that was not wanted. As their sale would be lost for another year if they were returned, however, Affleck hoped that the merchant would be

¹⁷ Id. to Norman, January 7, 1856.

¹⁸ Id. to Robert W. Scott, December 29, 1856; Id. to T. H. Cunningham, December 30, 1856; Id. to Leonard Fash and Company, January 7, 1857.

willing to accept them.¹⁹

As the Plantation Journal and Account Book contained advertisements Affleck decided to issue a new edition in 1857. An agreement with Norman provided that he would print the books and receive the return from sales. Affleck would sell the advertisements.²⁰

Books for the gardener, long promised by the nurseryman, were again considered and at one time Affleck remarked that he had written them. There is evidence that at least one of the manuscripts was actually completed.²¹ His purpose seems to have been to arouse the interest of someone who would buy the rights to the book for cash. A new supply of overseer's Weekly Reports were printed and letters were sent to absentee planters in an effort to encourage purchases.²² This could never serve as an important source of income and received little attention. A "Year Book of Facts of Southern Agriculture" went no further than the proposal stage. Affleck believed that this booklet would promote the sale of fine breeds of livestock and new seeds and plants in the South. Remuneration would come from commissions and advertisements as well as from the sale of the books.²³

The nursery business in 1856 was fairly profitable although much

19 Id. to Daniel Dealy, January 28, 1856.

20 Id. to Norman, September 1, October 17, 1856.

21 The articles later published in the Houston Telegraph were probably part of this proposed book. See Chap. VI.

22 The overseer's Weekly Reports had been published irregularly since 1850. Absentee planters found them useful. Almanac, 1861, p. 5.

23 Affleck to Norman, April 12, September 1, 26, 1856; January 7, 1857; Id. to L. Johnson and Company, September 1, 1856; Id. to Scott, December 29, 1856.

less time was given to it than formerly. Orders for plants were filled for persons residing in almost all parts of Texas and these were carefully handled. Covering letters show that Affleck was trying very hard to please his customers there with the view of currying favor for his nursery. There was always the pressing need for money, and there seemed to be quite a lot of it in Texas that could be spared for fruit planting and beautification.²⁴ Large amounts of nursery stocks were sent to most of the centers of South Texas, particularly to Galveston, Houston, Columbia, Texana, and Victoria. Other orders were filled for Austin, Texas City, Kellum's Springs--places that were most difficult to reach.

It is surprising that Affleck had any success in getting orders to Texas in good shape for planting. The inefficiency of shipping agents and employees on board ships added to the uncertain connections or lack of regular transportation facilities into the interior made the problems of sending perishable plants manifold. Changes in climatic conditions were also to be reckoned with. Frequent complaints concerning the size and the color of the plants he sent were usually explained by pointing to the negligence of shipping agencies. Affleck did not receive many expressions of appreciation for satisfactory plants because the prices were high and anyone who bought from him felt that he was receiving no special favor. When on occasion he did receive praise, he was quick to take advantage of the opportunity to encourage missionary

²⁴ *Id.* to Burke and Perkins, February 6, 1857; Account Book, 1854-1856, pp. 150 ff.

work in the interest of his nursery.²⁵

Soon after purchasing the property in Washington County, Affleck sent his Mississippi foreman, S. Gerard, to prepare lands and receive shipments of supplies. On February 4, 1856, he wrote his factor in New Orleans that he was sending freight to Texas to the amount of \$2,000 and three Negroes worth \$3,000. Freight, insurance, and fees for clearing the Negroes through the customhouse had to be paid.²⁶ The order that he gave to his Houston agent for handling the shipment shows further the expensiveness of the undertaking. He wrote that he was starting some of his slaves to Texas "this bitterly cold morning--and I do it most unwillingly, the more as two of them are quite old people, faithful old family servants, whom I send out mainly to cook &c. for Gerard. There are old Henry, Esther his wife, & Mose their son. And an intelligent young Englishman who has them in charge. I send also a very large lot of freight, consigned to Burke & Perkins. But I greatly fear that there will be difficulty in sending it up the country. And it must go as quickly as possible. I fear there will be more than one load. If it could be sent as two light loads p mule or Horse teams I should like it. Beg Mr. Burke to do the best he can for me as to the rate of Freight &c. I would prefer that the two old people should go by stage to Independence, if that be practicable. I would not like them exposed on the

25 Affleck to Cushing and Swain, January 7, February 25, 1856; id. to Clark L. Owen, January 24, 1856; id. to James H. Raymond, January 23, 1856; id. to John R. Hughes, February 25, 1856; id. to N. K. Kellum, February 25, 1856. Some of the favorable comments appeared in the Almanac, 1855, 1856, passim.

26 Affleck to Carroll, Pritchard and Company, February 4, 1856. The freight was to be insured for \$1,000 and the Negroes for \$1,200, "that is Mose \$700 and Henry and Esther for \$250 each."

prairies day after day with slow teams. Please try & have them go. The two others will walk. The two old folks will take with them on the stage, if admissable, a long box containing Guns. The young Englishman, will have money--enough to pay their stage fare, unless he meets with some accident or extraordinary expense."²⁷ Affleck also asked his Houston agent to pay the freight to that town as James Berley who was handling the charges to Galveston would extend his services no farther. If the weather was too bad, he added, the people were to be held up for²⁸ a few days.

Another of Affleck's extraordinary expenses in 1856 was caused by the necessity of having to hire capable men to serve as foremen for both of his places. In April he employed a retired French army engineering officer, Captain Trigand de Latour, as foreman for the Mississippi nursery. The immediate reason for this was Affleck's prospective trip to Texas. The nurseryman needed someone to look after the routine nursery work and handling of orders. Latour, however, was too important a person to serve as a mere foreman. When Affleck was away and Latour in charge the affairs were handled fairly satisfactorily. At times, however, it was necessary for the Frenchman to take orders and he soon let it be known that he was more capable of giving them. This being the case the

²⁷ Id. to B. A. Sheppard, February 2, 1856. It was impossible to identify the Englishman. A week later he wrote to his factors in New Orleans that he was worried about the safety of his Negroes. He hoped that they had been cleared through the customhouse to avoid the harsh weather. Id. to id., February 9, 1856; id. to Carroll, Pritchard and Company, February 9, 1856.

²⁸ Id. to B. A. Sheppard, February 2, 1856.

29

relationship was unsatisfactory.

About the middle of May, 1856, Affleck left for Texas to be gone
 30
 for three months. As in the cases of earlier trips there is little information concerning his activities. His principal purpose was to get a small sawmill which he had recently purchased in working shape to produce lumber for building. Although the previous owner of the mill had explained that it was not satisfactory for him, Affleck believed that it only needed proper management. Another reason for the journey was to learn what other materials were needed in Texas immediately so
 31
 that they could be procured.

While in the state Affleck tried to effect a contract with the Texas Legislature for planting the capitol grounds at Austin. Through livestock deals he had established friendly contacts with some prominent people in the Texas government. Although it seemed certain that he would get a contract, the legislature refused to appropriate the necessary funds for the project. At the time this was not very disappointing to Affleck, for he was fully occupied with other activities. Still he did

29 Ibid. to Norman, April 12, 1856; Captain Trigand de Latour to T. C. Ayer, August 22, 1856. In August when Affleck was in Texas, Latour had occasion to sign himself in some of the correspondence as Superintendent of the Southern Nurseries. "We" had entered into the letters concerning the affairs that heretofore had been in undisputed control of Affleck. Latour probably overstepped himself, or possibly he may have made some very serious error. He told a prospective customer for an advertisement in the Almanac that they only had 10,000 of the Almanacs contracted for. Affleck never let the number get that low in his correspondence.

30 Ibid.; id. to James Sorley, May 9, 1856; id. to B. Pendleton, August 29, 1856; id. to Mr. Hutton, August 29, 1856.

31 Affleck to Carroll, Pritchard and Company, April 12, 1856.

not let the project drop. A partnership with a Mr. Durham of Austin was arranged whereby the latter was to use his influence to secure a legislative appropriation for planting.³²

Some idea of the situation on Affleck's Texas place can be formed from his correspondence after his return on August 28.³³ Poor crops necessitated purchase of more provisions.³⁴ Things had gone badly with most Texas farmers, making it impossible to raise feed or procure it from neighbors at a reasonable price. Although Gerard was getting along well he had become restless and was interested in going to Mexico to speculate in mules and horses. He therefore asked to be relieved as foreman as soon as possible.³⁵ On October 18 Affleck wrote to William Cooker of Bayou Goula, Louisiana, that he could have the position of foreman that he had applied for. Meantime, Latour was sent to Texas to relieve Gerard.³⁶

³² *Id.* to Mr. Durham, September 18, 1856.

³³ Affleck found more trouble than usual at his Mississippi place when he returned. His neighbors had taken advantage of his absence to encroach on his rights. One, a Mr. McGowan, had taken possession of a field that Affleck claimed to have rented and on which he had some crops. Another neighbor had allowed his mules to run loose in the neighborhood, and they had gotten into the nursery several times. Latour's eccentricities had not helped matters. *Id.* to B. Pendleton, August 29, 1856; *id.* to Mr. Hutton, August 29, 1856; Latour to Ayer, August 22, 1856.

³⁴ Affleck to Hutton, August 29, 1856.

³⁵ *Id.* to Durham, September 18, 1856. Affleck joined in this enterprise and although there seemed to be real promise of success the returns were small. Affleck was able to get some stock, however, at cheap prices, and he used the project as another excuse to procrastinate on payments of certain obligations. *Id.* to H. Lambdin, November 16, 1856; *id.* to Jefferson Barthelow, September 26, 1856; *id.* to wife, June 24, 1857; *id.* to Gerard, September 29, 1857; *id.* to G. B. Burr, December 23, 1857.

³⁶ *Id.* to William Cooker, October 18, 1856. This was the beginning of a long relationship between Affleck and Cooker. See also *id.* to Durham, September 18, 1856.

In the early part of October, Affleck began the construction of a foreman's house on the Texas plantation. It was to be a solid, small house, but comfortably arranged, with a tin roof decorated at the eaves with crooked oak limbs. Gerard believed that an iron chimney would be the only suitable one for the climate; Affleck ordered a less expensive one of the "out and clay" variety, a mixture of wood, stone, and clay, which in his opinion would be more permanent. The lumber was sawed at the mill on the place. The plans called for 70,000 feet of plain lumber, which with other finished materials would make a rather substantial cottage for a foreman. Gerard at the same time constructed some cabins for the slaves whom Affleck was preparing to send to Texas and for those already there.³⁷

On the last day of October Affleck ordered supplies for Gerard from various factors: a stove from Louisville, and salt, flour, and other foods from Houston and Galveston. All these things had to be procured without cash payments, but Affleck promised to pay for them as soon as he could fill his nursery orders. He offered plants in part payment for some of the purchases.³⁸ It was difficult to get the supplies that were needed but other than buying less expensive articles than were ordered Affleck did his best to get what Gerard wanted.³⁹

Affleck was ready to get William Coker off to Texas by December 2. At the appointed time of departure, however, the slaves whom Affleck

³⁷ *Id.* to Brown and Gordon, October 31, 1856; *id.* to Gerard, October 31, 1856.

³⁸ *Id.* to D. & J. Wright, October 31, 1856; *id.* to Burke and Perkins, October 31, 1856.

³⁹ *Id.* to A. Ferandon, October 23, 1856.

intended to send were ill and it was necessary for the foreman to wait for more suitable weather and the better health of the Negroes. Meanwhile, further arrangements were made. On December 14 Coker, his wife, and two children met five of Affleck's slaves in New Orleans—a man, two women, and two children. Affleck wrote to Dr. R. R. Peebles of Hampstead, Texas, to whom he was sending some sheep, to meet the group at Cypress where all except the Negro man would arrive by stage; the man would follow and drive the livestock. Burke and Perkins of Houston were ordered to pay the necessary charges from collections made by their house.⁴⁰

The nurseryman already had one prime slave and two older Negroes in Texas. Thus by 1857 he had a group of eight servants in the new location.⁴¹ This was an expensive party to feed and clothe, especially when most of the supplies must be purchased. Everything possible was being done, however, to make the place self-sufficient as quickly as possible. Affleck had his Houston factor send wool cards, cotton cards, a spinning wheel, and a churn with the second group.⁴²

During this period Affleck completed plans for his nursery buildings in Texas. He had never been able to arrange the sort of nursery that he believed most suitable to the South. Although he had gone to

⁴⁰ *Id.* to D. & J. Wright, October 31, 1856; *id.* to Burke and Perkins, October 31, 1856; *id.* to Coker, December 8, 1856; *id.* to Gerard, December 8, 1856; *id.* to Dr. R. R. Peebles, December 8, 1856; *id.* to Burke and Perkins, December 15, 1856.

⁴¹ *Id.* to Gerard, December 8, 1856.

⁴² *Id.* to Burke and Perkins, December 15, 1856.

much expense and had had a well-trained propagator from Skirwings, a famous New York nurseryman, to do the work for him, the establishment at Washington, Mississippi, had always been unsatisfactory. The situation in Texas would be different. A cold grapery, a good greenhouse, and a conservatory, besides ordinary nursery buildings, would be constructed. For assistance in his planning he wrote to R. S. Leachers of Boston, to get the most scientific information available.⁴³

Affleck's experiences in procuring nursery supplies for the Texas place and in filling orders during this period were similar to those of the past. Vilmorin, Andrieux and Company, Paris nurserymen, had been more willing than others in trying to satisfy the demands of the Southern Nurseries, and it was natural that Affleck should turn to them as a principal source of supply.⁴⁴ In late 1855 Affleck ordered through T. Bachelier, seedsman of New Orleans, a large supply of plants from Paris. The order did not arrive as scheduled. He expressed the hope to Vilmorin, Andrieux and Company that they would not disappoint him as he was greatly dependant upon them; he was especially anxious concerning the pear trees ordered. It would be too late to buy elsewhere should they not be able to fill his orders. On February 15, 1856, the plants had not arrived and Affleck was much worried. He had promised neighbors that their orders would be filled from this imported stock and they would likely look to him for damages if the supply did not arrive.⁴⁵

⁴³ Affleck added, "I shall expect your fee--trusting that you will be moderate," *Id.* to R. S. Leachers, December 9, 1856.

⁴⁴ *Id.* to Larrabee and Place, December 30, 1856. He stated that he could order stocks from Europe more easily and cheaply than from places in the United States. See also *id.* to T. Bachelier, February 15, 1856.

⁴⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, February 15, 1856.

It was April before the plants were received. They had been placed in wet ballast, were the last to be unloaded, and were almost all rotten.⁴⁶ In the meantime, on April 12, Affleck had received an unsatisfactory order from J. M. McCullough, of Cincinnati. The Mississippian wrote that he could not understand why northern and European nurserymen could not inform themselves concerning the differences in climate between their locations and the South.⁴⁷

Later in the year he placed another large order with Vilmorin, Andrieux and Company for seeds, evergreens, and other nursery products,⁴⁸ and continued to order from northern producers. From Kentucky he requested blue grass, orchard grass, rye, and other grasses for planting during the next summer in Texas.⁴⁹ From Bloomington, Illinois, he ordered 30,000 apple seedlings ("if \$100 would pay for them"), and inquired of prices on apple seeds and strawberry plants. He intimated that if terms were satisfactory considerable business might be expected from him in the near future.⁵⁰ The next month an order was placed with the Bloomington house for 20,000 more apple seedlings, and a large supply of various kinds of strawberry plants.⁵¹ From New York \$25 worth of apple seeds were procured, and a St. Louis firm was instructed to send 20,000 apple seedlings if they could be furnished at \$2.50 a

⁴⁶ *Id.* to C. B. Swasey, April 30, 1856.

⁴⁷ *Id.* to J. B. McCullough, April 22, 1856.

⁴⁸ *Id.* to T. Bachelder, November 21, 1856.

⁴⁹ *Id.* to Robert W. Scott, September 6, 1856.

⁵⁰ *Id.* to F. K. Phoenix, November 11, 1856.

⁵¹ *Id.* to *id.*, November 11, 1856.

⁵²
 thousand. In a letter to a Richmond nurseryman he pleadingly urged consideration for an order which he was placing. Affleck had raised 10,000 apple seedlings that year for Texas but the night they were to be shipped the wharf boat had burned destroying the lot.⁵³

Although the Mississippi nursery and garden embraced most types of plants and seeds known to southern nurserymen, orders were placed for potatoes, flower seeds, vegetable seeds, nectarine stocks, peach stocks, grape vines, strawberries of all varieties, arbor vitae and other evergreens, maple trees, and, in fact, almost everything known to horticulturists. Affleck always emphasized the necessity of sending "true" plants and seeds, for he hoped to run tests on his plants in Texas. In Mississippi it had been impossible to keep true breeds because of the lack of space and because of the difficulty of propagating plants in the soil there. In Texas, however, Affleck could run tests to see if many of the different types of plants and species of types that he had been growing were true to the pure-bred plants. Also many varieties of plants that he had never been successful in propagating might be grown in the new location. Plants and seeds were thus gathered from such wide sources as France, England, New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and other

⁵² *Id.* to Richard E. Fahenstock, November 16, 1856; *id.* to Barnes, Phelps and Putnam, October 18, 1856; *id.* to Thomas J. Coleman, December 11, 1856.

⁵³ *Id.* to M. G. Mendenhall, December 20, 1856. It appears that at this time Affleck was determined to make of Texas an apple producing state regardless of any opposition, human or climatic. He must have known that any success in this endeavor was extremely doubtful, but he was nevertheless enthusiastic.

southern states.⁵⁴

Affleck often complained of prices. To Northerners he reported that he could order more cheaply from Europe. In one case, after receiving a parcel from a northern nurseryman, he said that he had already ordered from another company before he had received word that his plants were on the way; he would pay for them as soon as he could, but stocks direct from Europe were cheaper than those from his house. In another case when sending an order to a firm in Greencastle, Indiana, he explained that he had noticed their advertisement in the Prairie Farmer but that their prices were so high that he had paid little attention heretofore. He could get plants cheaper from France; he preferred, however, to do his trading in the United States. He would take 1,000 of their sugar vites and 1,000 maples at \$5 a thousand if they had them in good sizes.⁵⁵ To the European companies he complained as much about their prices.⁵⁶

Some of the difficulties in getting nursery supplies for Texas were due largely to factors beyond the control of either the buyer or seller. Although Affleck often complained that the nursery business was the most thankless profession that man ever entered, he showed little sympathetic understanding of the troubles of his fellow nursery-

⁵⁴ Id. to Munn and Company, November 16, 1856; id. to T. Bachelier, November 21, 1856; id. to Thomas Meehan, November 25, 1856; id. to W. A. Whitfield, December 11, 1856; id. to F. K. Phoenix, December 5, 1856; id. to Thomas J. Coleman, December 11, 1856; id. to L. Hamilton, December 16, 1856; id. to Mendenhall, December 17, 1856; id. to D. J. Ramsden and Company, December 27, 1856; id. to Munn and Buchanan, December 29, 1856.

⁵⁵ Id. to D. J. Ramsden and Company, December 27, 1856; id. to Larabee and Glaze, December 30, 1856.

⁵⁶ Id. to T. Bachelier, November 21, 1856; id. to Vilmorin, Andrieux and Company, January 23, 1857.

men. Transportation difficulties were a primary concern to all parties. It was nearly impossible to reach Texas by a direct route, for ships stopped at other ports en route, especially at New Orleans. Supplies sent to Affleck from the North and Europe were usually sent first to New Orleans and then transhipped to Texas. This necessitated another handling that provided additional opportunity for the shipments to be sent to the wrong place or to be carelessly loaded and packed on shipboard.⁵⁷

A different attitude was taken relative to the orders that Affleck sold.⁵⁸ He insisted that the recipient take the responsibility for the shipment after it left his hands if the goods were packed carefully and were sent as they had been ordered. For example, he admitted to James H. Moore on December 30, 1856, that the trees he had sent were not what they should be. They were the best that could be provided, however, had been carefully packed although probably badly handled, and therefore there was no reason why they should not be paid for. He was willing to deduct \$10—but no more. "This is the most thankless business ever poor mortal engaged in," he added.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Id. to T. Bachelier, February 14, 1856; id. to John Hammonds, April 3, 1856; id. to A. M. Holbrook, October 17, 1856; id. to Burke and Perkins, October 31, 1856.

⁵⁸ Id. to T. Bachelier, November 21, 1856.

⁵⁹ Id. to James H. Moore, December 30, 1856; id. to James B. Keath, April 1, 1856. See also id. to John Hammonds, April 3, 1856; id. to Burke and Perkins, October 31, 1856.

CHAPTER V

FURTHER PROBLEMS OF EMIGRATION

Much progress had been made in preparing for a removal to Texas by the end of 1856, but it seemed that more than the usual amount of misfortune had befallen Affleck. The expenses in Texas had been greater than he had expected and the drought and bad weather had necessitated replacement of much nursery stock. The new year found him with all the old problems and many new ones. Food and other supplies for the Texas enterprise had to be purchased and more labor provided to avoid undue delay in his departure. The extremely cold winter made the work move slowly.¹ And however great his resolution, it was becoming increasingly difficult for him to undergo the continual embarrassments of his present position.

It was not to be expected that Affleck would have an easier time in 1857 than in the previous year. Creditors were more troublesome than ever. Insistence upon payment was met with an explanation of his situation, request for patience, and offers of nursery products or advertisement space. He expressed hope that they would be satisfied with his plans for the future, but he made few promises.

The Hatches creditors were especially persistent. In reply to their demands he wrote: "I feel that I have toiled through 15 years of the active portion of my life, & as few men toil, to redeem promises to pay & to pay debts incurred under circumstances for which thousands have thought themselves excused." All that he asked was a bare sub-

¹ Affleck to Burke and Perkins, February 6, 1857; id. to E. B. Baker, January 16, 1857.

sistence and some freedom in his attempts to repay debts that were not rightly his obligations. If creditors became difficult they would receive nothing except what the law allowed and that would be very little.²

In writing to one of his printers he further explained his predicament: "Through another I had become involved; have toiled hard to pay, & am paying, but slowly; & if I do not continue to do so, will be deprived of all. I bought a piece of property in Texas, on credit; intending to remove thither as a cheaper country to raise my family in, & where I could thus pay the debt...& save my Negroes from being sold. My last season was one of such drought there, that I have the utmost difficulty in commencing my nursery there. Here, my expenses in the Nursery are so great, I cannot make a dollar."³

The differences with the Texas printers were not yet settled and he must look for another printer for 1857. He had been fairly successful in collecting for the advertisements but was completely disgusted with the handling of Almanac sales. The printers were shipping them directly to the customers and demanding direct payment. They had not furnished Affleck his quota and, finally, they had attempted to collect for an advertisement that he had procured. Their conduct, he again complained, had almost ruined him. He wrote to his

2 Id. to id., January 16, 1857; id. to Dr. F. A. W. Davis, January 16, 1857; id. to A. C. Davis, February 8, 1857; id. to J. Reddy, February 11, 1857; id. to James Carradine, February 11, 1857; id. to R. Mason, March 4, 1857.

3 Id. to Darrell and Moore, January 16, 1857.

New Orleans factor that there had certainly been some shady dealing on the part of the Texas printers. The first news of the Almanac since he had sent final copy in October was when the factorage firm wrote that they had consigned some through their house to W. H. Fox of Natchez. "You may understand the game intended to be played by them on you & me. Of course, I cannot receive them. Please note the date of their tender to you--for which they had no authority from me: and I regret that you were troubled at all with the matter--make them pay for it." Thus, Affleck was still refusing to accept the Almanac and wished his factor to receive none, as that action might be construed legally as an acceptance by him. In a later letter he advised the agent to let the matter drop as he wished to hear no more of the business. This did not settle the problem, however, as the printers kept trying to collect.⁴

This whole affair reflected either on Affleck's business judgment, his business ethics, or both. Inexperienced printers had already given him no end of trouble. His arrangement had been a costly bargain. He had not lived up to his part of it, as his orders had been less than he had promised the printers. Nevertheless, when they had been late with the printing, he complained bitterly and attempted to lay the whole blame upon the printers' shoulders. At the same time Affleck continued to collect for advertisements, although he refused to accept

⁴ Id. to Leonard, Nash and Company, January 7, 1857; id. to L. Johnson and Company, January 22, 1857; id. to Stewart, Durnett and Brown, March 27, 1857.

the Almanac or to see that they were properly distributed.⁵

Before this matter was settled Affleck had already arranged for a printer for 1858 and there appears to have been no serious difficulty in making a contract. Again he turned to Norman who took over the arrangements for handling both the Almanac and the Plantation Journal.⁶ Affleck promised to travel over the South and get orders for the publications. Although he may not have received as many orders as the advertised circulation, the results of his efforts were satisfactory.⁷ Except for the fact that the proofs and list of orders for the Plantation Journal were lost for some time there were no serious publication problems during the year.⁸

Orders from Texas for nursery produce continued to increase throughout the year. Although it was still necessary to fill them from the Mississippi establishment, Affleck was rather successful in satisfying his customers.⁹

His success in collection was less marked. Complaints followed attempts to hasten payment. At one time a very legitimate protest was made when Affleck sent more than was ordered and directed payment

5 Id. to id., March 17, 1857; id. to B. M. Norman, March 18, 1857. He said that nursery sales had dropped from \$9,000 to \$6,000 as result of the Almanac's late appearance.

6 Id. to L. Johnson and Company, January 22, 1857. This company had contracted for the printing of the Almanac and copy was to be sent directly to them. Id. to Norman, March 17, 1857; id. to Danrell and Moore, July 3, 1857. This last company had contracted to print the Plantation Journal and Account Book.

7 Affleck to Norman, March 17, 1857; id. to Danrell and Moore, July 3, 1857.

8 Id. to Danrell and Moore, July 3, 1857.

9 Id. to Burke and Perkins, February 6, 1857.

to be made for the whole order. In a few instances plants were re-
 ceived in bad shape. But Affleck was in a mood for compromise.¹⁰ He
 desired no enemies and dissatisfied patrons in Texas. His business
 in other sections of the country was far from satisfactory, however,
 as he had spent his time building up the Texas market to the neglect
 of other sections.¹¹

Affleck's indebtedness continued to increase with the great
 demands made upon his funds by the Texas establishment. There was
 no way that he could get out of his difficulties until he had his
 organization there in such shape that it would begin to pay. The
 Southern Nurseries in Mississippi would not have met the expenses
 even if they had been well tended.

In the meantime there were a few side lines that he hoped might
 bring in needed revenue. One of these involved the production of
 wine from Mustang grapes, a project that he had investigated when
 he decided to move to Texas. If successful there would be orders for
 vines; and there was also the possibility of using the native grapes
 for grafting stocks.¹² The reports from Gerard encouraged him to
 make large quantities of wine for the market. In 1856 he had been
 further encouraged by the superior product that Gerard had made.

10 *Id.* to the Reverend James Huckins, January 31, 1857; *id.* to Henry L. Rankin, February 21, 1857; *id.* to A. H. Jones, March 3, 1857; *id.* to John Duncan, March 31, 1857; *id.* to Cushing and Swain, September 21, 1857.

11 *Id.* to Robert N. Ogden, November 14, 1857.

12 *Id.* to F. Fiske Allen, January 21, 1857. See Chapter VI for a newspaper discussion of wine making.

In March, 1857, he wrote that "At present I have a part of my negro force there; and have put down vine layers enough (the method of propagating the mustang grape vine) to plant 30 or 50 acres of vineyard. I can gather immense quantities of grapes from the wild vines; but of course at much greater expenditures of labor, & the grapes of inferior quality, from being at all stages of ripeness--for I have varieties of this grape ripening from 1 Augt. until 1 Decr. at intervals of ten days."¹³ Affleck was expending great effort in getting a large produce ready for an unproven market.

Another horticultural venture that he hoped would return a ready profit concerned the sale of "Japanese potatoes." The *Dioscorea batatas*, although belonging to the same family as the sweet potato, tasted like the ordinary mealy Irish potato. He had cultivated this plant on his place for some time and by 1857 had sufficient supply to put it on the market in large quantities. Affleck's early experience with speculative crops, especially the *persea multiflorus* debacle of the 1830's and 1840's, had taught him that if the proper publicity were given to a newly discovered but unproven agricultural product there was great profit in it.¹⁴ Therefore, when he had enough potatoes to advertise he began his publicity campaign. Samples were sent to editors, seedsmen, and other influential people. Roots for sale were included with the explanation that they were equal to the finest

¹³ *Ibid.* to John W. Reid, March 3, 1857. Some possible exaggeration must be allowed as Affleck was trying to get Reid to advertise machines for making wine and cognac.

¹⁴ Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 96.

"meal potatoes that ever was cooked."¹⁵ Throughout the year he attempted to create a market and realize something from his supply of seed.¹⁶

In November he wrote to D. Maupey and Company, prominent New Orleans seedsmen, that he was sending "down a fine tuber of the Japan potatoes to the Piquette folks, with a lengthy letter to the paper descriptive of the potatoe. It will sell; & sell well. I have a good lot of nice tubers. Suppose I send you a few parcels of 100 each, for sale at \$2.50--charging you \$2.7"¹⁷ His article was not published and Maupey did not make the expected order. Another serious effort to sell his stock of Japanese potatoes was made in January, 1858. In that month he wrote to T. Bachelier of New Orleans that he still had a fine stock of Dioscorea batatas.¹⁸ To Bachner and Crump of Vicksburg he included in a box of seed a large tuber to be displayed in the store and one to be eaten. He also included one for the editor of the most influential paper to evoke an expression of opinion and provide Affleck with a copy of the paper for advertising purposes.¹⁹ Merchants of Jackson and Canton, Mississippi, received samples along with orders of Plantation Journals. Some of the potatoes were for editors of the newspapers. To one recipient he

¹⁵ Id. to R. F. Nichols, February 23, 1856.

¹⁶ Id. to Brown and Gordon, January 8, 1857; Id. to Henry L. Rankin, February 21, 1857; Id. to A. H. Jones, March 3, 1857; Id. to D. Maupey and Company, November 14, 1857.

¹⁷ Id. to Id., November 14, 1857.

¹⁸ Id. to H. Bachelier, January 5, 1858.

¹⁹ Id. to Bachner and Crump, January 8, 1858.

wrote that "I prize this plant as a very great acquisition to our provision crop & think they will come into general use over the country. One hundred of these seed tubers will give large yield next season."²⁰ And to John Duncan of Marshall, Texas, he sent 600 of the seed tubers for sale. They were "proving to be even more valuable here, in the South, than we had anticipated and will be greatly in demand when better known. Hence I am scattering them as much as possible." Affleck said that he had spent much time in getting the right variety. As an extra he was sending six Almanacs to help increase sales.²¹

The sale of the Dioscorea batatas did not return large profits. In writing to Bushner and Grump later in the year he casually added a query as to what had become of the Japanese potatoes that he had sent them. He would appreciate an accounting and the return of the remainder.²² From time to time he received small orders for some of the potatoes but never as many as he had expected.²³ There was limited success in selling the plant only in Texas but the amounts involved were never large.²⁴ The reason for slowness of sale was the difficulty of harvest. Only in time of dire need would a farmer be willing to dig the two to four feet into the ground to reach the edible root.

20 Id. to J. B. Storey, January 16, 1858.

21 Id. to John Duncan, January 16, 1858. The Almanac, 1859, contained an article on the Japanese potato.

22 Id. to Bushner and Grump, March 24, 1858.

23 Id. to J. F. Davidson, March 24, 1858.

24 Affleck Account Book, 1859-1875, pp. 20 ff.

When other types of potatoes could be grown easily there would not be much demand for those that were so difficult to harvest. Affleck had accurately advertised the advantage of a sure crop, but many farmers were not sufficiently farsighted in preparing for periods of crop failures.

Affleck made other attempts of a similar nature to raise money without marked success. He also tried to sell a half interest in his nursery early in 1857,²⁵ and to get contracts for hedging.²⁶

At the same time, however, he expended or prepared to spend money in unusual developments that were not necessarily needed. He wrote to Scotland in March, 1857, seeking stonecutters, carpenters, and farm servants. They would be paid \$1 a day with a \$100 bonus each year if they proved capable.²⁷ If men could be procured they were to bring along some ponies and dogs that he had bought there.²⁸ He planned trips, purchased plows, cattle, mules, horses, and many other things that could have been dispensed with.²⁹ Affleck was not one to work under unfavorable conditions--at least, as long as he could pacify his creditors.

Affairs in Texas encouraged Affleck to make final preparation to go there in the spring. Gerard had accomplished much, but his ex-

25 *Id.* to Charles J. C. Puckett, May 1, 1857.

26 *Id.* to John Prescott, May 9, 1857.

27 *Id.* to Robert Russel, March 20, 1857.

28 *Ibid.*

29 *Id.* to Leonard Fash and Company, March 17, 1857; *id.* to John Prescott, May 19, 1857; *id.* to A. B. Allen, July 3, 1857; *id.* to Dr. William H. Hammond, July 2, 1857.

passes had been great and his experiences with frontier conditions were not extensive. The foreman made many impractical requests, and his letters showed that much needed work was being neglected.³⁰ Affleck wished to get the sawmill in shape to build his houses and to provide lumber for sale. Too, the nursery needed some expert attention as the harsh winter had caused much damage to his stock.³¹

On May 3, 1857, Affleck was aboard ship above New Orleans on his way to Washington County, Texas.³² During the next month he was at his place helping to prepare for the summer's crops or traveling over the state seeking nursery orders and making acquaintances. He had found prospects for crops good in the immediate vicinity of Chappell Hill and Independence, but generally the outlook in Texas was disheartening. Grain harvests would be plentiful, however, if the rains were timely. On the whole he had been very pleased with the prospects for his own crops but was worried because there would not be much money available for the purchase of nursery products.³³ While he was in Texas, buildings and ground were made ready for his removal in the near future.

Affleck had meant to spend two or three weeks in South Louisiana soliciting orders but a letter from his wife made him hasten home.³⁴

³⁰ Id. to Leonard Fash and Company, March 17, 1857.

³¹ Id. to Norman, April 22, 1857; id. to Editor, Houston Weekly Telegraph, May 6, 1857.

³² Houston Weekly Telegraph, May 6, 1857. He had just returned from Hot Springs, Arkansas, where he had gone to carry a rheumatic Negro for treatment.

³³ Id. to Calvin Smith (Affleck's stepson), May 31, 1857; id. to wife, June 24, 1857; id. to A. B. Allen, July 3, 1857.

³⁴ Id. to Dr. William H. Hammond, July 2, 1857.

He planned to return in the fall, but circumstances necessitated postponement until the next spring.³⁵ During July and August, after his return to Mississippi, the removal of nursery products to Texas was accelerated and orders were sent to various wholesale nurseries for more plants.³⁶

As many purchases and arrangements for agencies might be better handled if Affleck could go North, plans were completed in September for a trip to Louisville, where the National Agricultural Fair was being held.³⁷ As early as May Affleck made reservations.³⁸ While in Louisville he acquainted himself with various new patents and removed contacts with manufacturers of agricultural implements. He wished to keep in close touch with these men so that if the opportunity arose they could be addressed with business propositions of a promotional nature. He made a few purchases but his money was limited and it was necessary principally to make arrangements for future purchases. He left the Fair with the agency for the Wychoff boring machine.³⁹

³⁵ *Id.* to Cushing and Swain, September 21, 1858.

³⁶ *Id.* to J. Ramsden and Company, July 3, 1857; *id.* to Captain Levi Wilson, July 6, 1857.

³⁷ *Id.* to Gerard, September 29, 1857; *id.* to Peter Buchanan, May 19, 1857.

³⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, May 19, 1857. This letter concerned some clover seed that Affleck was ordering to be sent to a customer in Alexandria, Louisiana. He directed them to "Send invoice to me here, at as low rate as you can afford it, that I too may make a trifle; and put no cards in the barrels, nor other marks upon them to show they did not come from me. If more is wanted, as there will be, I wish to be applied to for it."

³⁹ *Id.* to Burke and Perkins, July 27, 1858; *id.* to Darrell and Moore, September 25, 1857; *id.* to A. Wychoff, March 24, 1858.

After returning from his trip to Kentucky the next several months were spent in an attempt to meet financial problems and to procure needed supplies for Texas. His correspondence reveals almost a routine schedule: letters to creditors asking for extension of time; attempts to raise money to send to Cocker and Gerard in Texas; sales of plants, replies to complaints, and attempts to collect. Gerard's mule and horse speculation had by this time ended in failure and it was necessary for Affleck to try to avoid being forced to make promised deliveries of animals.⁴⁰

In January, 1858, Affleck wrote to one of his creditors that he had had enough money coming in to meet his debts but that several houses in New Orleans had failed and others were rumored to be failing. Cotton and sugar was almost unsalable and it was impossible to collect. He asked for patience.⁴¹ To others little explanation was offered, except that his collections were bad and that he was doing everything in his power to raise money. It was true of course that the panic of 1857 had caused hard times. However, the main explanation of Affleck's difficulties was to be found in his heavy expenditures in Texas.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Id.* to Gerard, September 29, 1857; *id.* to G. B. Burr, December 23, 1857.

⁴¹ *Id.* to Klumanger and Berry, January 5, 1858.

⁴² *Id.* to William Cocker, November 14, 1857; *id.* to Robert N. Ogden, November 14, 1857; *id.* to D. Mearns and Company, December 1, 1857; *id.* to T. Buckhalter, January 5, 1858; *id.* to J. B. Story, January 16, 1858; *id.* to John Duncan, January 16, 1858; *id.* to E. W. Case, January 21, 1858; *id.* to Thomas Reed, January 21, 1858; *id.* to J. A. Wemyss, January 23, 1858; *id.* to William Cocker, February 13, 1858.

April, 1858, found Affleck on his way to Texas again. His family, except Dunbar, soon followed and they remained throughout the summer. Expenses were thus increased and what collections were made were in large part used for personal needs. It had been necessary to hire an extra foreman for the Mississippi nursery, thereby increasing the outlay.⁴³

Mrs. Affleck now found Texas more pleasant than previously. Crops were good, especially grain, and the nursery was in encouraging shape.⁴⁴ She wrote very optimistic accounts of the situation to Dunbar. The house which was to be their home until a finer one could be built was progressing nicely. The upper story was to serve as living quarters while the lower floor, to be built of cement, was being completed. Flowers and fruits were surprisingly plentiful and the country generally was pleasing to her.⁴⁵ She was fully reconciled to the removal.⁴⁶ Obviously, her husband had spared no expense to make her stay pleasant.

Most of Affleck's time and energy was spent in carpentering: building a home place, quarters for the Negroes and the foreman, and a mill house. He also helped Gerard to make wine, hoping to produce a hundred barrels which would be sold for \$50 a barrel. There was work in the nursery with budding and grafting and general propagation.

⁴³ *Id.* to Sorley, March 1, 1858; *id.* to Dunbar Affleck, August 16, 1858.

⁴⁴ *Id.* to Dunbar Affleck, May 22, 1858.

⁴⁵ Mrs. Affleck to *id.*, June 16, 1858.

⁴⁶ Affleck to W. Howell Williams, August 30, 1858, in Samuel H. Williams Collection (Rosenburg Library, Galveston, Texas).

A bridge had to be built over a bayou so that stone could be hauled for the foundations of the buildings. Many things remained undone⁴⁷ and, although Gerard, Cocker, and the Negroes were working well, there was too much for them to handle.⁴⁸

A most troublesome crisis in Affleck's career had its beginning in March, 1857, when the second payment for the lands in Washington County, Texas, fell due. He did not have the money and as the time approached there seemed to be no possibility that funds could be raised to meet the note for \$2,000 unless great sacrifices were made. It was therefore necessary to explain his predicament to William H. Williams, son of Samuel Williams and the manager of the Williams' real-estate affairs. Affleck wrote that he had met with many unexpected difficulties. The migration to Texas had been expensive and further outlay was absolutely necessary before any significant income could be expected. It was particularly important that a shingle machine be purchased and other machinery was more or less necessary to complete his establishment. If Williams would postpone the payment another year he would pay 10 per cent on the amount. If leniency were shown now prompt payments would be assured in the future.⁴⁹ He received a favorable reply

⁴⁷ *Id.* to Dunbar, May 22, June 18, July 28, August 16, 1858.

⁴⁸ *Id.* to *Id.*, August 16, 1858.

⁴⁹ *Id.* to William H. Williams, March 13, 1857. There had been difficulty in arranging for the first payment to Samuel H. Williams due in 1856. During January, 1856, he had written to Alexander Ropy that he hoped that nothing had happened to keep him from making prompt payment on the note that he had given to Affleck as he had

and immediately expressed his gratitude. "You have made a new man of me, this mornig! I thank you, & your Father, most sincerely, for your kind and ready acceding to my request." He would have had to sell his house at a ruinous price if payment had been forced, "but now, thanks to you, I shall wait."⁵⁰

Affleck tried unsuccessfully during the rest of 1857 and early 1858 to make arrangements to pay for the land. By April, 1858, Samuel Williams' son was becoming rather insistent for a settlement of the two payments now due. William H. Williams had written W. Howells Williams, a nephew of Samuel who was also interested in the various enterprises of his uncle, that they had finally received a letter from Affleck. "It merely apologized for not handing over the 'spenduliks."⁵¹ The head of the family, Samuel, was lenient toward Affleck but the son and nephew who did not know the nurseryman personally were prone to be cynical toward his business methods.⁵² Affleck wrote to W. Howells Williams, August 30, 1858, explaining that he had been too busy to attend to their business. He expected to see them on the way back to

turned it over to Williams for payment on the land. If it were not paid there would be "the dance to pay." It appears from the tone of the letter from Affleck, that Roy had written, but without success, asking to have the note extended. Affleck could not allow the payment to be put off. Later in March, Affleck wrote to Alexander Wilson, who was interested in Williams' affairs, that he had made arrangement for the prompt payment of the note and wanted to know exactly how much he owed. But later in the year, November 1, a note from one of the Williams brothers to another showed that the slow payment was causing worry. "Let me know if Affleck is in Washington Co. and what his post office is," was a final request. Austin Williams to Howell Williams, November 1, 1856, in Williams Collection. See also Affleck to Alexander Roy, January 23, 1856.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* to W. Howell Williams, March 27, 1857, in Williams Collection.

⁵¹ W. Henry Williams to *id.*, April 30, 1858, *ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*; Affleck to D. Atchison, January 29, 1858.

Mississippi. It had been extremely difficult for him to get his survey under way and the expenses were great. The returns so far had been "nil."⁵³ He promised payment soon.⁵⁴

When Affleck returned to Mississippi in October, he immediately sought to make arrangements to sell his Mississippi home, but not the survey, so that he would have funds necessary to finish outfitting the place in Texas and also to meet the notes due on the land bought from Williams. In the meantime, he would try to collect money enough to buy necessary supplies. When a collecting agent in Texas failed to produce the desired results, Affleck turned his outstanding accounts over to a lawyer for suit. This seems to have been more successful and soon he was sending drafts on his Houston factor to the amount of \$1,000 to pay for lumber he had purchased.⁵⁵ It was also necessary to send considerable sums to Coker.⁵⁶ In writing to the foreman he cautioned him about expenses. Prices were "tremendous" and money came in slowly. He was having to pay \$2 a barrel for grain, \$12 for small loads of coal, \$20 for barrels of pork, and \$60 for enough wood to last two months.⁵⁷

Sometime during early January, 1859, Samuel M. Williams died and those responsible for settling the affairs of the estate demanded the

⁵³ *Id.* to W. Howell Williams, August 30, 1858.

⁵⁴ *Id.* to D. Atchison, January 29, 1859.

⁵⁵ *Id.* to John D. Pitts, November 22, 1858; *id.* to T. Henderson and Reale, November 27, 1858; *id.* to B. A. Sheppard, December 20, 1858.

⁵⁶ *Id.* to E. B. Baker, January 4, 1859; *id.* to Coker, January 19, 1859; *id.* to A. Whiting and Company, January 4, 1859; *id.* to B. M. Watson, January 24, 1859; *id.* to C. Reagles and Sons, January 24, 1859.

⁵⁷ *Id.* to Coker, January 19, 1859. Coal was used to heat the greenhouses.

immediate payment of the Affleck debt. This action had not been expected by the nurseryman, and he found it necessary to use every means to avoid foreclosure. He explained his situation to D. Atchison, a lawyer friend in Galveston, and asked for help and advice. Affleck pointed out that Calvin Smith, his stepson, with the consent of his guardian, had bought Ingleside, their Mississippi home, for \$12,000 but he could not pay for it until he came of age on January 26, 1860. His guardian had agreed to advance \$3,000 in a few days and Calvin would pay him \$4,000 more soon after he reached his majority. He wished his lawyer to propose to the administrators of the Williams' estate that he would pay \$2,327 in principal and interest immediately, and \$4,000 either in February or March of the coming winter. This would leave an outstanding indebtedness of \$2,000 which he would pay one year thereafter.⁵⁸

If the worst case and a foreclosure were made, Affleck inquired, would he be allowed by Texas law to keep three hundred acres as a homestead. If it could be arranged, however, he wished the lawyer to manage the settlement so that he would not have to pay interest on the last \$6,000 that he owed. He had agreed to pay 8 per cent on the second payment, but did not want to be forced to pay interest on the rest. The great difficulty in reaching an agreement with those who were unfamiliar

⁵⁸ Id. to D. Atchison, January 29, 1859. Only the first payment of \$2,000, had been made. Arrangements had been agreed upon with the elder Williams to postpone the other payments so that Affleck could make needed improvements on his land. The improvements had been made, according to Affleck, at a cost of over \$15,000.

with his verbal agreement was the fact that he had given a quitclaim deed to the elder Williams when he defaulted on the second payment. Williams had assured him that it was merely a matter of form but now that the old man was dead, he urged his legal adviser as a friend and lawyer to explain the situation. Unless some agreement could be reached⁵⁹ he was faced with complete ruin.

Within the next week Affleck received from Calvin's Uncle Robert, \$4,000 in cash and a draft for \$2,000 payable January 1, 1860, which would be converted into cash by paying interest. Although it had caused Affleck some embarrassment to get the money it would appear that he was now capable of avoiding bankruptcy. He had received more money than he had expected and it would allow him to pay all except \$2,327 of what he owed to Williams.⁶⁰

But Affleck did not pay for the land. On February 9 he sent Atchison a draft for \$2,500, but explained that he only wished to pay the exact amount of the second installment. If terms indicated in his last letter had not been reached, Affleck would rather that nothing be paid⁶¹ until further communication. Six days later Affleck was again writing to the lawyer. He had received word from Atchison since mailing the last letter that the Williamses were willing to make the agreement for payment that Affleck wished, but this had not been agreed to by the executors of the estate. Although the lawyer's letter is not extant, it appears that he advised his client that if he wished he could wait

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Id. to Calvin, February 4, 1859.

⁶¹ Id. to D. Atchison, February 9, 1859.

until June to come to Texas, and thereby delay suit until January of the next year. Supposedly this was possible because the terms of court would prevent the case from being docketed before that time. This could be done if absolutely necessary, Affleck replied, "But if I do not go out in March, I cannot remove to Texas this season. Still, it seems to me very strange, that if they know they cannot get judgment (by my not going out until next June) until January, and that I could even then defer payt. [sic] I offer now, with Judgment confessed without suit, \$4,000. to be paid 1st Jan'y. (I would prefer 1st March) & the remainder even 1st March 1860, if not longer time can be had! Cannot you drive them into this agreement?

"Why would they see me unnecessarily? If I go out in March, what must be done to defer the payts. till Jan'y. next? What will be the cost? And what the security &c. would be needed? . . . If possible, I must go out in March. Several wealthy friends, go out with us, to try & suit themselves in Texas. And I have my house to complete for my family; my nursery to attend to, machinery to prepare for—Engine, Sawmill, planing, & other machines to arrive 1st. June. I must reserve money enough to do this. And selling as I do, to a minor, prevents my getting payt. till next fall." Both he and his wife were uneasy and he greatly hoped that some compromise could still be arranged with the Williams executors. On March 4 he was writing to his wife that he hoped Atchison would be able to arrange things for him.⁶²

⁶² Id. to Id., February 16, 1859; Id. to wife, March 4, 1859.

It has been impossible to trace clearly what policy Affleck decided to adopt. He did go to Texas before June 1,⁶³ but he did not pay any of the money that he owed for the land.⁶⁴ Suit was brought in the Galveston County Court at the January term. Affleck failed to appear, and judgment was issued July 5, 1860, for \$8,387.⁶⁵ showing that he paid nothing more on the land at that time. When the judgment was transferred to Washington County in 1871 it still called for the same amount.⁶⁵ How Affleck was able to keep his land; why the judgment was not transferred to Washington County for settlement in 1860; why there is no record of further correspondence with the Williams over payment for the land--are questions which are impossible to solve with existing records. The various state stay laws passed during the Civil War and the turmoil of Reconstruction obviously precluded enforcement of payments. But until the war started there seems to be no explanation of the course pursued. From the available evidence

⁶³ Id. to James Sorley, March 16, 1859; id. to James Barnes, March 16, 1859.

⁶⁴ William H. Williams and Philip C. Tucker, Jr., Administrator of the Estate of Samuel M. Williams v. Thomas Affleck, in Washington County (Texas) Deed Record Books, V, 82-83. This action is recorded in the Deed Record Books of Washington County having been transferred from Galveston County for settlement, June 26, 1871.

⁶⁵ Id. B. A. Sheppard, collecting and exchange agent at Houston wrote the following to W. H. Williams on February 7, 1860: "I have yours of 1 inst. I would go down this P. M. and be in Galveston tomorrow if I thought Affleck would be there prepared to settle up his matters with us, but I have not heard a word from him or of him. I wrote him but have no answer.

"If you come up with a view of settling up matters please bring along a statement of the Affleck judgment and if you cannot come I would be obliged to you to procure these and send it to me, so that I might be prepared in case I met Affleck to show him the amount." Sheppard to Williams, February 7, 1860, in Williams Papers.

it is further seen that Affleck could have paid before suit was ever brought by sacrificing some of the purchases of machinery, lumber, and other supplies. But he spent his money as he had planned and after the threat of suit, and the suit itself, he made no attempt to meet the land debt.

Meantime, Affleck continued preparations for removal as if nothing unusual was happening. A most urgent problem was how to handle his Almanac and Plantation Journal and Account Book for 1860. Norman, who had successfully managed this business for him the past year, failed in January, 1859. This appears to have been a tragedy not only for Affleck but for the South as well. In writing to C. M. Saxton of New York, Affleck gave vent to his feelings concerning the best friend that he had in the business world. "You may well say 'poor Norman'. He has been most unfortunate. And I know of no man who has done as much in the S. W. for you Northern publishers, as B. M. Norman. In every fair & favourable manner he has disseminated a knowledge of and created a demand for books. And that now after 25 years of toil in the cause, in New Orleans summer and winter, he should lose all, & have to try something else, for a living. It is hard. I esteem and prize him as a friend. There is not one man of that sort left in the business in New Orleans."⁶⁶

Thus the problem of handling his Almanac and Account Books was again placed upon Affleck's shoulders at a time when he was rushed

⁶⁶ Affleck to C. M. Saxton, January 29, 1859).

more than ever. Could C. M. Saxton of New York take the publication over altogether? Affleck would be willing to accept fifty cents for each copy of the Journals sold. Saxton could have all the return for the Almanac if Affleck could have the free use of one hundred pages.⁶⁷

The New Yorker did not appear to be anxious to make an agreement.

Affleck was able to get the Quartermaster's Weekly Reports stereotyped in Philadelphia by L. Johnson and Company but this was a very minor part of his publications.⁶⁸ He next turned to Durrell and Moore of Boston who had published his Account Books the past year. After asking them to ship what books they had on hand to New Orleans to meet the increased demand there, he inquired of their interest in publishing them and the Almanac for 1860. Although there had been several offers to print the Account Books, he wished to keep it in their hands. The copyright of the Plantation Journal and Account Book could be put up as a guarantee that payments would be made for printing the Journals and the Almanac.⁶⁹ Before he could receive a reply from Boston, he had written to the New Orleans and New Jersey printers, D. Felt and Company, who earlier had done work for him, to find if they were interested in a contract. With this company an agreement satisfactory to both parties was arranged, and this inaugurated probably the most successful year for the Affleck publications.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Id. to L. Johnson and Company, February 8, 1859.

⁶⁹ Id. to Durrell and Moore, February 9, 1859.

⁷⁰ Id. to D. Felt and Company, February 15, 22, 1859; id. to Durrell and Moore, February 23, 1859. Durrell and Moore had been severely

Realization that his greatest asset was still the publicity that he gained through the issuance of the planter's aids caused Affleck to be careful in the way he handled the Almanac for 1860. He himself devoted more time to his publication during 1859 than in the last few years, and he also procured the services of a very capable young man to aid in gathering advertisements. Oswald Tilghman, his new assistant, was the son of Colonel Trench Tilghman, a close friend of Affleck's. The father was past president of the United States Agricultural Society and famous for his various enterprises. Oswald was a real asset to Affleck's business, not only in promoting publications but in selling nursery stock as well. The name Tilghman was well known and the boy seems to have had an excellent personality for salesmanship. Because of these factors and careful effort Affleck exceeded in orders the advertised number of the Almanacs that were to be printed.

His relation with the printer appears to have been quite satisfactory. There were a few critical letters written by Affleck because D. Felt and Company was slightly late in getting the Almanacs finished, and some complaint when payment time came because the firm had not followed his orders in placing advertisements in the books.⁷¹ Affleck

criticized at times for their work, and payments from Affleck had been slow, causing dissatisfaction on both sides. Affleck realized that the hopes of renewing the contract were not favorable, if in fact he desired it.

⁷¹ Id. to D. Felt and Company, February 22, March 14, 1859; id. to Calvin, March 14, 1859; id. to Oswald Tilghman, March 18, 1859; id. to David Felt, September 21, October 14, 31, 1859; id. to H. G. Stetson and Company, New Orleans, October 27, 1859. Felt and Stetson were in partner-

circulated nearly 35,000 Almanacs and realized besides his nursery advertising a profit of \$1,640.00. The only disappointing factor was that few of the Almanacs reached Texas merchants. It was impossible to gain such support there because of the New Orleans advertisements.⁷²

In February, 1859, when Affleck was negotiating concerning payments on the Texas lands, other demands for money seemed to be as great as ever. In writing to Calvin explaining his need for the money to pay for the land, he complained that "The expense of living here, just now is enormous. Corn \$2. p bushel; pork over \$20. p bbl. and everything else in proportion. I am fairly desperate in my desire to get settled in Texas. We mean to try economy and plain living until out of debt."⁷³ Three hundred barrels of corn and various other supplies were necessary immediately for Coker to continue his work in Washington County.⁷⁴ The \$4,000 that had been advanced by Robert Dunbar for Calvin was sent to B. A. Sheppard of Houston to pay for lumber. This was done before Affleck had learned how to keep his land without making a payment immediately.⁷⁵ Shortly after he was trying to get more common labor for his nursery in Texas and early the next month carpenters were being

ship. Affleck used several addresses. The title for most of the period under study was D. Felt and Stetson for the New Orleans branch of D. Felt and Company of Patbville, New Jersey.

72 Affleck Account Book, 1859-1875, pp. 11-14. The order of Wheelock and Company of New Orleans for 20,000 of the Almanacs for advertisement of drugs and patent medicine was a principal reason for the good circulation. One of the advertisers was guaranteed a total issuance of 40,000 and another 50,000 but this seems not to have been reached. Ibid.; id. to George A. Prince and Company, March 16, 1859.

73 Id. to Calvin, February 4, 1859.

74 Id. to Coker, February 7, 1859.

75 Id. to B. A. Sheppard, February 7, 17, 1859.

hired.⁷⁶ Although expenses continued to increase, Affleck seemed to find ways to provide what he desired most.

On the return trip from Texas in the fall of 1858 Affleck had begun negotiation for planting the Capitol grounds at Baton Rouge and the contract had been granted to him sometime early the next year. February 28 found him in Louisiana preparing to begin work.⁷⁷ On March 4 he completed the planting and on the next day presented a bill for \$3,068 for the plants and five days work. He would not have been surprised to get less than that amount for his work. He expressed his fear to his wife, "I ~~have~~ to get about \$3,000.--~~may~~ have to put up with less. But will fight hard for all I can get."⁷⁸ When the legislature granted him \$2,750 he was well satisfied. He was still obligated, however, to replace any dead plants during the next year.⁷⁹

While in Baton Rouge Affleck traded for a shingle machine that would make a "beautiful shingle, & with the rapidity of a flash, almost! If I can only get all safely on the spot, & all to work well, I shall have the most complete wood-working establishment in the South--~~sure~~. And I am sanguine that I shall now be able to get it all under way."⁸⁰ He returned to Mississippi to complete the final arrangements for removing his family and household goods.

The rest of March was spent busily keeping the Almanac sales moving

⁷⁶ Id. to General Chambers, February 23, 1859; id. to wife, March 3, 1859.

⁷⁷ Id. to wife, February 28, 1859.

⁷⁸ Id. to id., March 4, 1859.

⁷⁹ Id. to Calvin, March 14, 1859.

⁸⁰ Id. to wife, March 3, 4, 1859.

and in preparing for the forthcoming journey. By this time all of the family were anxious to get to their new home. Calvin had decided that he would go to Texas but would keep the home place in Mississippi. This softened the sorrow of leaving Eagleside. On March 25, 1859, Affleck left for Texas to be followed by his family in the early part of May. Hensborth, Washington County, Texas, was to be the residence of the Affleck family.⁸¹

⁸¹ Id. to Calvin, March 14, 16, 1859; id. to James Sorley, March 16, 1859; id. to J. W. Barnes, March 16, 1859.

VI

PUBLICITY IN TEXAS FOR THE AFFLECK ENTERPRISES

If Affleck could be judged upon the record of his published writings and utterances, and the things that were published about him, his biography would be a study of a man who was remarkable for his unselfish work in the interest of his section and his country. But a large mass of his most intimate correspondence reveals that his interests were often not unselfish and that his public work was guided to a considerable extent by personal ambition and needs. This was especially true after he decided to move to Texas. Still the personal motives that guided him do not seriously detract from the significance of his contributions. In order to understand Affleck's position in Texas society it is necessary to discuss his early contributions to Texas newspapers and to notice his relations with them. Both subject matter and method employed in reaching Texas readers show the breadth of interest, the knowledge, and the opportunism of the author.

The first important letter that Affleck published in a Texas newspaper was sent in April, 1857, to E. H. Cushing, the aggressive and public-spirited editor of the Houston Telegraph.¹ It was a digest of the "Black Code" of Texas, recently revised and re-enacted by the legislature. The editor, in a note preceding Affleck's contribution, wrote that the digest would be published in the Weekly Telegraph as soon as space would permit. "We had intended preparing such a thing ourself

¹ See Ashton, 35,000 Days in Texas (New York, 1938), 27. In 1854 Cushing had succeeded to the editorship that had been occupied by Dr. Francis Moore, and the growth in influence of the paper testifies to the enterprise and success of the new editor.

Id., and are under very great obligation to Mr. Affleck for furnishing the work ready for the press." The subject treated was of great import to the "community generally, and we consider the space given to it in our paper, as being put to the best possible use. Slave owners will do well to cut these articles out and paste them in their common place book."²

In a published letter to the editor Affleck explained the reason for directing the digest to him at that time. "It is my intention to publish this Digest, either in the Southern Rural Almanac for 1858, or in a little volume of 'Facts for the Rural Population of the South,'³ to be completed soon. Texas had enacted the most recent slave code; Texans should familiarise themselves with its changes to appraise its utility, and citizens of other states would do well to study its provisions and profit by its good and bad qualities. Although Affleck would be able to reach a great many people by the publication of the digest in his *Almanac*, it should be "more immediately circulated in Texas--hence my offering it to you for publication in the *Telegraph*, and with the hope that papers generally through the State will copy."³ Affleck concluded his letter by explaining the reason for his interest in the region. "As Texas will be my future home after the lapse of another year--Providence permitting--I feel that degree of interest in

² *Houston Weekly Telegraph*, April 15, 1857.

³ *Id.* John Sayles of Brenham, a noted Texas lawyer and one of the Judiciary Committee that had drawn up the laws had prepared the digest. He preferred that his name not be connected with the digests. Sayles to Affleck, n. d., 1856.

her welfare and her standing at home and abroad, which it is to be hoped every good citizen feels; and should like to do what little is in my power to aid in increasing her prosperity." The code appeared in the weekly issues of April 15 and 22 and filled over seven columns of the two numbers.⁴ It served admirably to reintroduce Affleck to a considerable number of Texans. No one could accuse him of selfish motives in this work unless the casual mention of his Almanac could have been thus construed. Cushing was impressed by Affleck's service. When the copy of the digest was received he offered to print it in pamphlet form. He thought he could sell 2,000 at twenty-five cents a copy without difficulty.⁵

The next letter that Affleck addressed to the Telegraph editor was a friendly note upon the situation in Arkansas where he had recently traveled and an inquiry concerning the damage that the cold weather had done in Texas. He concluded the note with the statement "That if I can be of any service to any one in Texas [such] as procuring supplies of cotton seed, let them apply to me freely, and I will do my utmost to procure it for them."⁶ He had privately informed the firm of Burke and Perkins of Houston that he had a surplus of good seed on hand, and had sent it out for sale.⁷

By the fall of 1858 Affleck was able to find time to write more regularly for the newspapers. On October 6 a letter characteristic of

4 Houston Weekly Telegraph, April 15, 22, 1857.

5 Ibid.; Affleck to Cushing, April 18, 1857. Affleck refused the offer.

6 Houston Weekly Telegraph, May 6, 1857.

7 Affleck to Burke and Perkins, April 22, 1857.

his writings for the Mississippi and Louisiana newspapers appeared in the Telegraph. Affleck explained to "Friend Cushing" that "One of your subscribers at Butag Limestone Co., propounds enquir⁴₇es enough, in a letter received to-day, to require the contents of a two hundred page 12 mo. volume to reply to in full! Others have made like enquir¹₇es. With your leave I will answer them through the columns of the Telegraph." The two leading topics in Affleck's reply were of importance to his current plans; hence it is well to notice the article.⁸

Since he had first visited Texas, Affleck's enthusiasm over the possibilities of making that country a great wine-producing state had increased. His "Entaw Friend" had requested Affleck to "detail the modes operandi of wine-making, as practiced in the different countries of Europe, and about Cincinnati &c." Anyone who expected to make more than a few barrels, Affleck advised, should hire someone experienced in making wine.⁹ For those who wished to make small amounts he could, from his experiences, give an account of the most desirable method. Although he had doubted in 1856 that the Mustang grape could be successfully used for wine without adding "spirits or sugar which becomes spirit," experience had taught otherwise. The wine made that year, "and that too with very ordinary means, such as tubs &c., was excellent, and kept perfectly; being now sound and good; vastly improved indeed by

⁸ Houston Weekly Telegraph, October 6, 1858.

⁹ Affleck cited the valuable information he had gained from his relations with Gerard. Ibid.

age. Nothing used but the juice of the grapes, expressed by tramping." This year more care was taken in gathering the grapes and preparing the wine, as a haphazard method had not yielded the best results. "The grapes were gathered by plucking off the branches with the finger and thumb. Every second evening, the grapes thus gathered, during the two days, were run through one of W. O. Hickok's cider mills, made at Harrisburg, Pa., and an excellent machine it is for the purpose,¹⁰ juice, skins, pulp and seeds all running into the fermenting tub." The fermentation began immediately but as yet he could

¹⁰ Affleck was obviously "puffing" the Hickok mills. Mention was made of them when opportunity afforded. See Affleck to Hickok, February 18, March 6, 1857. During 1856 and 1857 Affleck attempted to get machinery and other supplies for his Texas enterprise through agencies and in return for advertising. Although he was able to make some favorable agreements dependant upon his influence in Texas his success was generally disappointing. In this activity he was using the experience that he had had in his publishing connections. Compare the activities of Solomon Robinson who wrote in the interest of A. B. Allen and Company. Keller (ed.), *Solomon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist*, II, 309 ff. See for Affleck's activities in this connection: Affleck to Castille and Harispe, December 1, 1855; Habicht and Parish to Affleck, January 30, 1856; Cowley and Company, per agent G. Ricker to *id.*, August 16, 1856; Affleck to Hoard and Sons, August 29, December 29, 1856; Hoard and Sons to Affleck, January 13, 1857; Dr. Jose Redhead to *id.*, February 18, September 27, 1856; Affleck to Henry McCray, March 20, 1856; McCray to Affleck, March 31, November 16, 1856; W. O. Hickok to *id.*, September 16, 1856; January 13, February 6, March 6, 1857; Affleck to Hickok, February 18, 1857; *id.* to Hovey and Company, September 6, 1857; C. D. Rags to Affleck, January 12, 1857; Affleck to Harlan and Hollingsworth, January 26, February 23, 1857; *id.* to A. B. Allen, March 20, 1857; Allen to Affleck, February 24, April 14, 1857; Affleck to William P. Coleman, March 17, 1857; *id.* to Arthur Durham and Gilroy, March 16, 1857; *id.* to Hallaway's Fall Company, March 16, 1857; George Brodie to Affleck, April 20, 1857; Affleck to Harris and Upton, March 6, 1857.

not say what "the proper temperature should be" or the "length of time required for fermenting,"¹⁰ but in his own cellar--thirty feet long, fifteen feet wide, and ten feet deep, with a stout cedar roof covered with earth--the time varied from sixty to eighty hours. The method of determining was "by the nose" and if it "smells--well, like wine," it was ready for drawing off. The resulting fluid was "the most excellent drink imaginable during the warm weather"; and could be drunk as soon as made. This would mean that wine would not last long although it would improve if left to age.

Affleck was so convinced that the wine could be successfully made in marketable quantities that he intended "planting in vineyard, the mustang grape, every foot of land under tillage this coming fall." The wine was not only the most delicious drink but was prescribed by leading physicians "as the best of all tonics to patients in the state of convalescence; and especially after low fevers."¹¹

"Hedging and with the Cherokee Rose," his correspondent's chief topic of inquiry,¹² was a subject that he was pleased to discuss in his column. "Enter" had been correct in the belief that Affleck "proposed 'to accept contracts on liberal terms' to hedge for others."

¹¹ Houston Weekly Telegraph, October 6, 1858. This letter was copied this far by the Southern Cultivator (August, Georgia), XVII (1859), 53. For more information on wine making see Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 10, 17, 1858.

¹² As to the other inquiries Affleck explained that he could not answer questions concerning the relative value of sugar cane and sorghum, but knew that both could be raised profitably. In his own vicinity he knew of successful operations for making syrup which would "serve the general purpose of sweetening."

Information on contracts could be found in the same newspaper under the advertisement for his two nursery establishments: the Southern in Mississippi and the Central in Texas. He would take this opportunity, however, to clear up some misunderstandings concerning hedging plants. Cherokee Rose was not, in his opinion, the only satisfactory hedge and he was by no means "wedded" to it; he would be glad indeed to find another plant better adapted to all types of soil. For stiff, black prairie lands Affleck believed that the "double white microphylla" rose was better suited, because it was equally as hardy and not so luxuriant. The Chickasaw rose was probably best for bottom lands. But generally "the Cherokee may prove safest, if the experience of hundreds running through a period of fifty years or more in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi &c., goes for anything, and especially considering the thousands of miles of thorough fence of this plant which exist. That it will suit equally well all soils and localities may well be doubted." For low seacoast the Quisachee or Neesatchie would be best; for the thinner and poor upland prairies the Osage Orange; in Western Texas, the Yucca or Spanish bayonet or prickley pear "separated or mixed together, in the end could I feel confident, be made to form an impassable barrier"; and the Rhamnus or Buckthorn trees would probably be satisfactory in some sections. The usefulness of the "Cock's-spur Hawthorn" and the "Pyracantha" were uncertain as a small insect of the Aphid family attacked them. The Cherokee, the Chickasaw, and the White Microphylla roses, however, remained the only practical hedging plants because "that plant will best serve our purposes, which will hold its own through a year of neglect, should circumstances

compel its being neglected, and will still continue to form a good fence."¹³

It was true that he was prepared at the time to take contracts for hedging, but he was doubtful if any of those who needed that sort of work done would have their hedgerows in proper condition for planting. Preparation of the rows must be begun a year in advance, but if it were possible to run lines on cultivated ground the work could be done at present. He would not accept less than from ten to twenty miles and the terms were those stated in the advertising column—\$100 per mile. Further, the ground must be prepared according to his directions: first, broken up at least one year before the hedging; second, thoroughly plowed just before planting to a width of ten feet and as deep as possible; third, harrowed, ridging to the center. Affleck would then furnish the cuttings and plant them. The owner must work the row the next year as he would other crops. The nurseryman would then return and replant any that had not lived, and prune and dress the hedge. The owner was to work the row again as had been done before, and Affleck would return a third time, to prune, dress, and replant, leaving the row a solid mass of plants and a perfect fence the fourth year. Except for very poor land where fertilizer must be added, this completed

¹³ For information on early hedging see, Kellar (ed.), Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist, I, 58, 252, 288-89, 292, 320, 420, 498-99; II, 3-5, 12, 13-16, 91, 140-45, 183-84, 329-30, 398-99, 476-77. Especially see, *ibid.*, 11-16. Affleck's leadership in connection with the use of the Cherokee rose was pointed out. *Ibid.*, 14.

the work necessary for a good fence.

In this long letter, which closed with a few random remarks on the progress of his Texas nursery, Affleck had been able to call attention to two important undertakings that he hoped would have future value. No notice in the advertising columns could attract as much attention as a published letter.

Affleck apologized unnecessarily for the length of his communication. The editor's reply was that "The letter of Mr. Affleck will be found most interesting to the farmer. He need not apologise for the space he occupies. Our readers would be glad if he would fill half the paper every week, on those and kindred subjects. He has a 'white card' for this purpose, and we hope he will use it freely.... We hope ere long to have something to say of Mr. Affleck's wine, and trust he will go into the business sufficiently, to not only test the experiment, but to furnish the trade with the article."¹⁴ Such attention and interest¹⁵ were exactly what Affleck had hoped for.

The cattle industry was of primary interest to Texans. It was natural that Affleck should make some effort to show that he was aware of the problems that faced the hardamen. He was also interested in supplying the state with pure-bred livestock through an agreement with

¹⁴ Houston Weekly Telegraph, October 6, 1858. The advertisement ran almost continuously from September 28, 1858. See Almanac, 1853-1860, *passim*, for hedging directions.

¹⁵ Houston Weekly Telegraph, October 29, 1858. The editor printed a challenge that had been made to Affleck. Cushing had received some wine from Colonel D. Randon of Fort Bend, who offered to send some more if Affleck could "beat it."

Robert W. Scott of Frankfort, Kentucky, whereby they shared the
 16
 profits from sales made by Affleck.

For some time the cattle of the eastern part of the United States had been faced with extermination by a disease called "Black Tongue" (probably pleuropneumonia). This disease had not spread into Texas at that time, 1858, though it had appeared in earlier epidemics, but Affleck realized that there would be little chance of stopping it, if once started among the herds of the region. It would be practically impossible to treat the wild Texas cattle. In writing to the Houston Telegraph he explained that he had made a study of the disease and thought that "it might be well to make more public what is known on the subject, and remedies that have been used, with more or less success." A possible cause of the disease, cited by other authorities, was wheat and oat rust. If so, Affleck believed that a freeze would make the disease less prevalent. The remedy that Affleck proposed was copied from a Hatches newspaper and was the current one used in the East, but he added that the generous use of salt, saltpetre, and
 17
 copperas would be helpful.

In concluding his essay on the cattle industry Affleck added a suggestive paragraph. "The losses occasioned, amongst cattle, by the

16 Scott to Affleck, July 29, 1842. The agreement made at this time appears to have been continued. Affleck to Scott, September 6, 1856.

17 Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, November 15, 1858; D. E. Salmon (ed.), Special Report on Diseases of Cattle and on Cattle Feeding (Washington, 1892), 376-88. These remedies were helpful in treating all diseases and for preventing disease by improving the general healthfulness of livestock.

epidemic and by overflow on the Mississippi, and the increased facilities for sending to market, are rapidly enhancing together with the increasing consumption of beef, the value of cattle, and must have beneficial effect on prices in Texas. It is now time that breeders there were turning their attention to the improvement of their cattle. A steer is worth to the butcher not alone in proportion to his entire weight, but he must be quiet and docile in disposition, that the handling he has to undergo on his way to market, may not fret and alarm him and thus cause a loss of flesh and fat on the way. All these advantages the Durhams possess more than any other breed; though the breeders of Herefords and Devons claim them for each of those breeds over all others. But all of this I may discuss through your columns, some leisure day, if acceptable.¹⁸ This information was valuable to the stockbreeder. Whatever Affleck's motives in giving advice, if it had been followed the livestock industry of the state would have been materially improved.¹⁹ Certainly better breeds were needed in Texas, and Durhams and Herefords were among these.

In December, 1858, an article encouraging the use of Japanese potatoes appeared in the Houston Tri-Weekly and Weekly Telegraph. Affleck had sent the communication to the editor as a personal letter but obviously the information was meant for the subscribers.²⁰ The

¹⁸ Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, November 15, 1858.

¹⁹ For an excellent discussion of the ante-bellum livestock industry in the South see Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 831-77.

²⁰ Cushing, in the Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, December 27, 1858,

discussion of the plant's usefulness was not overenthusiastic. He was very emphatic upon the point, however, that he thought the tuber would prove "of great value to Texas--honestly think so, altogether aside from the fact that I have these and other such for sale." In line with this, he added parenthetically: "But here just permit me to say, once for all, as I shall probably communicate with the Telegraph and other papers in the state, very frequently on such subjects, that I am a little sensitive on this point, and writing as I do over my own signature, as everyone ought to do who is not ashamed of what he is about, I have carefully avoided any thing that might return upon me at some future time. Every one is liable to error; and those especially, who feel and write enthusiastically on any subject must occasionally deceive themselves. Excuse the ego! but what is here git seems to me necessary."²¹

By 1859 Affleck had acquired the desired contacts with Texas newspapers. He had made an arrangement to write regularly and, as he explained it, to edit an agricultural and horticultural department for the Telegraph.²² As this paper was one of the most prominent in the state, particularly among the farmers, the articles from its columns

introduced the subject: "As usual we publish whatever we get from our friend Affleck, of the Mississippi and Texas Nurseries, whether written for publication or not. A letter of his under date Dec. 1st, appears today. These potatoes are certainly a curiosity and are really a good thing, we speak not only from the evidence of those who have tried them, but from having tried one of these sent ourselves. We are happy to inform our readers that Mr. Affleck has promised us frequent horticultural and agricultural articles the coming year, and we are sure they will be more widely read than anything else we can publish."

²¹ Ibid.; Houston Weekly Telegraph, December 29, 1858.

²² Affleck to C. M. Saxton, January 29, 1859.

were widely reprinted in other papers.²³ No other writer in Texas could compare with Affleck in knowledge upon horticultural and agricultural subjects. As his personal interests were closely related to those of subscribers he could be of service to himself while serving the best interests of the public. He was probably quite sincere when he expressed the desire to mislead no one. But as he himself explained, his enthusiasm at times may have colored his judgment.

Affleck's letters to the Houston Telegraph throughout 1859 dealt with any subject that happened to occur to him. He aimed to attract the general public's interest to his work and the contributions varied widely.

Livestock was a topic to which Affleck often referred. In the last week of the preceding year an editorial notice appeared in the Weekly Telegraph calling attention to the value of Affleck's interest in stock importation. "We had the pleasure yesterday of looking at some fine stock just imported by Lt. Gov. Lubbock and Thomas Affleck esq. The Durham cow was the best looking cow we have yet seen in the state. And a yearling bull was a beautiful animal. We are glad to see those evidences of a disposition to improve the stock of this state."²⁴

There were others beside Affleck, however, who were interested

²³ Affleck advertised in the Clarksville Standard during 1859. See ibid., January 1, 1859, at seq. His articles usually were reprinted more regularly in this paper than elsewhere.

²⁴ Houston Weekly Telegraph, December 29, 1858.

in supplying Texas with expensive livestock.²⁵ Apparently some of them were not wholly honest in their activities. On April 20, 1859, a notice appeared in the Houston Weekly Telegraph warning prospective purchasers of sheep to beware of fraud.²⁶

It was July before Affleck found time to combat any unfavorable opinion concerning imported breeds of livestock. The Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph for July 15 carried his letter. He had found in "the Kentucky Farmer for June, an article on 'Sheep Husbandry in the West,'" which was written in "such a plain, common sense, thoroughly practical style, that I would be glad if you would spread it before your readers through the Telegraph." Affleck would have recognized the article "as from the pen of an old friend, and one of the best stock farmers in Kentucky, Robert W. Scott," even if it had not carried his initials. "Although written for the latitude of Kentucky and the system of farming pursued there, there is not a word amiss for us, here, in Texas." The editor added a note that the article had not been received but it would be printed when it did arrive; on August 17 Scott's long article did appear in the Tri-Weekly Telegraph.²⁷

In Affleck's letter of transmittal he attempted to answer some of the principal arguments usually given against importing breded

²⁵ Ibid., March 30, 1859.

²⁶ Ibid., April 20, 1859.

²⁷ Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, July 15, August 17, 1859; Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 20, 1859.

sheep. About the "Dog question" he was very outspoken.²⁸ Public opinion must demand the enforcement of the law making the owner liable for any damage his dog caused. One of his own rams, from Scott's flock, valued at not less than \$100, had been killed by one of the curs. Good, well-bred dogs were invaluable, and if the owners of the destructive sort were penalized the problem would be solved. This would make it much less dangerous to pay high prices for valuable sheep. Another serious problem of the sheep raiser involved the sale of the produce from his flock. In some years prices for wool were high enough to make the industry profitable. Other years brought low prices for wool but profitable prices for mutton. The best sheep for Texas, therefore, was a breed that grew a good crop of wool but at the same time were of such flesh as to bring good prices when slaughtered. The "long woolled mutton sheep," or improved "Kentucky Sheep," bred by Scott fulfilled both of these demands and were properly acclimated to the South. Affleck could speak from experience because his own flock originated from a few and also he had procured from that source. Each thoroughbred ewe had brought twin lambs the past spring and all were alive.²⁹

Durham cattle were also discussed in Affleck's letter. Many Texans had been disappointed with importations of this breed. According to some reports they could not endure a long trip to Texas and then

²⁸ This was one of the most serious obstacles to early sheep raising. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 832.

²⁹ Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 20, 1859. See Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 855-56.

undergo the period of acclimatization. This had been a result, according to Affleck, of going to the wrong markets for stock. Scott's animals were hardy. A fine bull, "Ulric," that Affleck had procured from the Kentuckian, had undergone a long, hard trip aboard a much delayed ship during the last winter. This would have been the "death of any or all of those beautiful, pampered, stall-fed but useless animals brought from New York to Houston this spring and sold at such high figures; and poor brutes, (I'll venture to say there are not many alive, by this time!)." But "Ulric" came through it all, and an attack of the Black tongue besides, unharmed." Affleck was afraid he might "have said enough to give appearance, almost, of a puff! The intention was, solely, to point out to others what I had myself found—an honorable, reliable, and judicious breeder of fine stock."³⁰

Despite the "puffs" Affleck's advice to Texas stockmen was invaluable. Since that time it has been found necessary to acclimatize the fine breeds of livestock before allowing them to run with the herds. To meet the requirements of open ranges and hard winters the cattle raisers of the state found it necessary to get such animals as those that Scott sold. Thus, earlier than most experts, Affleck attempted to meet the problems of the Texas cattleman and the cattle industry of the state.³¹

Disseminating agricultural information in Texas through the medium of an agricultural periodical was often supported by Affleck. In July, 1859, he noticed a resolution passed by the Jackson County Agricultural

³⁰ Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 20, 1859.

³¹ This is concluded from personal observations.

Club and printed in the Telegraph suggesting that he would be a "suitable person to conduct a proposed journal to be 'devoted exclusively to the interest of the Farmer, Mechanic and Stock-raiser,' in Texas." Affleck had no "false modesty" concerning his ability to handle such an undertaking, and although there were others in the state who were "far more competent" there was none who possessed such zeal for the cause. His experience had taught him, however, "that a journal of the kind will not pay, as it is usually published, and very rarely indeed remunerates any one connected with it, save the paper maker and printer." The publication of agricultural periodicals in the United States at the time was aptly described in his following lines: "Witness the struggle for existence of nearly every one of the cheap monthly agricultural papers; the struggles of the printer to issue a journal containing readable matter, extracted from the one or two prosperous weeklies, or those monthlies which from their connection with agricultural implement makers, dealers in patent machines, or something of the kind, are enabled to employ and, in some manner or other, pay for ability to edit properly and prepare original and interesting matter."³²

Affleck would not be willing to aid any cheap paper; only if the proper support were shown before beginning a publication would he be connected with it. He believed that a proper journal would be supported in Texas because there were enough people in the state who could afford to pay \$3 a year for a well-printed weekly periodical containing useful

³² Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 13, 1859. See also Demaree, American Agricultural Press, 140-59, for information of similar nature.

information. It would return a thousandfold the payments necessary to support it properly. "See the single interest of wool alone.—There is not a wool grower in the State, who has this year sold ten good fleeces, but has lost more than the cost of one year's subscription from a want of knowledge of how to put up his wool for market, from ignorance of the price it should have brought when compared with the market elsewhere." Correct and reliable reports on prices and demand should be given a primary place.³³

To the inauguration of such a journal Affleck proffered his assistance, and he would be willing to conduct some of the departments until someone more competent could be found "or until the paper was so far successful as to admit your paying me a liberal compensation for my time and trouble." It could not be expected of him or anyone else to do more. He loved "the 'dear people' well enough," and had shown that he desired to do all that he could afford to do. But those who would be benefited should pay, and if they were to get "such a department in such a journal" as he was capable of running "they must pay." It might sound egotistical of him but those who had "drawn him out" were to blame. It occurred to him that the most promising chance of success at present would be for the editor of the Telegraph to change his weekly issue to meet the need. This would take much of the uncertainty from the project and allow this "oldest living paper in the State" to gain more in respectability and influence. If Cushing were not willing to support such a project then

³³ See Affleck's article advocating a New Orleans periodical a decade earlier, for the benefit of cotton growers. New Orleans Weekly Picayune, September 12, 1850.

some other paper should be approached on the proposition.³⁴

Affleck was sorry that he had not been able to write more, but at the time he was "busily engaged" in preparing the Plantation Record and Account Book and the Southern Rural Almanac for the printer. "Enclosed you have a proof sheet of an Overseer's Weekly Report, just issued, also prospectus of Almanac, &c. The Texas edition, already ordered, exceeds 10,000; the entire edition of over 40,000, all ordered."³⁵ He had afforded opportunity for Cushing to attract more rural subscribers and had added a word for his own publications.

The editor of the Telegraph was anxious to co-operate in furthering the movement for an agricultural organ. He assured his readers that as soon as possible he would make arrangements to meet the proposition of Affleck "fully half way." He had long "felt the need of an agricultural paper in Texas," and believed that the necessary support could be procured by connecting it with the Telegraph.³⁶ From this time forward the Telegraph contained much more agricultural information and was the principal paper in the state insofar as this subject was concerned. When Affleck had more time he increased his contributions to it. War soon stopped further effort for an agricultural periodical, and the scattered population of Texas made it difficult to organize agricultural societies to which Affleck devoted much of his writing. In the postwar period Affleck continued to support these types of activity, but again the time

³⁴ Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 13, 1859.

³⁵ Ibid. He was not being accurate in his figures.

³⁶ Ibid.; Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, July 13, 1859.

was unrepentant for successful co-operative efforts.³⁷

Although it may appear that Affleck was interested primarily in writing upon subjects that would directly influence his personal welfare, many of his letters to the Telegraph dealt with other subjects. He had agreed to send frequent contributions to the newspaper and it was greatly to his advantage to keep his name before the public.

Affleck's influence through his newspaper correspondence was having its effect in his own community. A correspondent from Brenham, in remarking upon the rapid growth of Washington County, commended the good that Affleck was doing both through his writings and personal contacts. "Stock raising is commanding increased attention. The finest blooded stock are being introduced. Sheep husbandry is increasing and is proving quite profitable—'Book farming' is becoming quite popular. Your intelligent correspondent, Mr. Affleck of this county has contributed greatly to elevate agriculture as a science among us and to cause farming to be chosen by educated men as a pursuit for life in proving at once a pleasure, profit and respectability. I find quite a number of wealthy planters' sons, who are voluntarily choosing agriculture as a calling for life, after having graduated at college."³⁸ No greater compliment could have been paid Affleck. There was no other result that he had rather attain than that of making farming an honorable and desirable occupation.³⁹

³⁷ Houston Weekly Telegraph, September 7, October 12, 1859; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 29, 1865.

³⁸ Houston Weekly Telegraph, March 23, 1859.

³⁹ Religion quite often occupied Affleck's attention and, when possible, he was willing to give of his time and money to further religious teachings.

In the Weekly Telegraph of August 17, 1859, there were three articles of considerable length from Affleck's pen.⁴⁰ Practically all the informative matter in that issue other than news stories was by him. These articles were the first of an intended series to be entitled "Thoughts as They Occur to the New Settler," and were to be continued as often and as long as Affleck could find time to write them. They were a part of his promised department on agriculture for the Telegraph, and appeared in the daily and triweekly issues of the paper as well as in the weekly.

Letter "No. I" explained the purpose of the series. Recently it had been impressed upon Affleck that there were a great number of people preparing to remove to Texas who were ignorant of the difficulties and problems in making new homes. They were afraid of removal because of this ignorance. If they could be correctly informed of the conditions in the state there would be many more settlers attracted and those who came would be better prepared to become worth-while citizens. All of them desired information concerning the country: "climate, soils, crops, health, &c." As he was newly settled in the state and would probably

He was a leader in Presbyterianism and he was anxious to aid the congregation in his new home. In July appeared a communication from Affleck appealing for outside assistance to help build their new church. The complete letter which filled nearly a column was printed although its content was probably of little interest to most subscribers. Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 27, 1859.

⁴⁰ Ibid., August 17, 1859. On August 10 Affleck had found time to write another essay on wine making. Since the appearance of his other articles on the subject he had learned much through experience and study. He believed that the industry was destined to be of such importance to the state that any information that could be of value should be published for the guidance of others who were interested in the subject. Ibid., August 10, 1859.

more readily notice and understand the things that a prospective emigrant would wish to know, he felt that a few notes embracing such matters would be interesting and useful. He would not promise that the essays would appear regularly but only as circumstances of his business would permit.

The information that followed was useful both to the prospective settler and to those who were already in Texas, as Affleck took the opportunity to call attention to many of the faulty practices that were being followed by the citizens of the state. Although the section had suffered from severe droughts and late frosts for the past three years, thanks to the "generous soil" and the "grateful rains" harvests of grain and other good crops had been abundant. This year, 1859, the promise of a bountiful crop of cotton nearly all over the state was practically assured. In parts of the northern sections the farmers had been hard hit, but the thriftiness of their livestock had allowed them to continue without especial hardship and few of them would change their present condition for any other. Those who had failed could blame their difficulties on shoddy methods, particularly shallow plowing. They had now learned their lesson and the emigrant would do well to profit by the experience.

Drought was one of the great fears of the prospective emigrant. In many parts of the state the newcomer could expect to make good crops regardless of rainfall. Particularly the black, thick bottom lands, the prairie lands of the type found in Washington County, and the better class of post-oak lands would produce crops almost without rain during

the growing season. In Affleck's own particular district there had been seasonable rains in both spring and summer of 1859, allowing the crops to continue to grow. Although there had not been enough rain to soak the ground completely there was plenty of water for the live-stock.⁴¹

Health conditions in Texas were exceptional for a frontier state, Affleck was glad to report. "New comers," during their first summer, "having no cistern water, may expect an occasional chill, but of a light nature, easily broken up; but almost sure to return on the 7th 14th and 21st days after the last chill, if not guarded against by a few grains of quinine, and perhaps a blue pill the previous days. I have heard of no sickness of a more serious nature." The curse of the frontier, "fever and ague" or malaria, was not a great danger in Texas. Affleck knew the scourge of the disease: he had lost one family because of its deadly work in Indiana, and he took much pains in his writings to remark on the comparative healthfulness of Texas. Summer heat was not as depressing as in many other parts of the South. And "What a comfort and luxury are these cool evenings and nights, without the hum of a single mosquito! However hot and exhausting the days, the wearied laborer is sure of sound and refreshing night's sleep." Affleck was now a Texan and painted a good picture of his country. But his experience with frontier life had taught him its trials and he made no attempt to attract settlers that were satisfied in their own homes or who were

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, August 17, 1859.

not ready to undergo some hardship.⁴²

The new settler would find that feed for his animals was easily produced. Land was rich and cheap. But those who were to come must not forget the lessons of the older regions and take life too easy. If devices for preserving feed and feeding stock more efficiently were available, there would be much more return from their labor and trouble. Livestock required little care after the first year but this limited care was very necessary. Young stock must be guarded against worms and maggots. "The new owner to a new county must include as part of the cost of his fine body of rich land, at a comparatively low first price, the loss of all the little conveniences he has been all of his previous farming life accumulating around him. Each is itself but a trifle; not so in aggregate."

In closing the article he praised Durham cattle for their gentleness in handling. His long-wooled sheep were also the most satisfactory that he had found for the region. He had to keep his sheep in the pens a good part of the time to keep them from getting too fat. Mexican breeds that were easily procured were often too wild ever to get fat.⁴³

The other two articles in the issue dealt with several subjects. Much of the space was again turned to wine making.⁴⁴ The newspapers should keep the sheep harder informed concerning the markets for wool and

⁴² *Ibid.* See Keller (ed.), Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist, I, passim, for a similar attitude shown by Robinson.

⁴³ Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 17, 1859.

⁴⁴ He was able to work in a "puff" for Hickok's mills.

methods of obtaining better prices. For example, he cited the difference between those prices quoted in market centers and those received by wool growers of Texas. At least fifteen and as high as forty cents a pound had been lost because of the ignorance of market prices. Advantage had been taken of the local residents by buyers at the Texas markets.

Wheat was another topic of importance that needed wide discussion. He had noticed with interest the news that the first lot of wheat from Texas had been shipped to New York. That was all very well but certainly a mistake, and a loss of possible profit. "It should be turned into flour for the supply, not only of our own Southern markets, but those of Cuba and Central and Southern America. Our wheat yields a flour of that kind—rich in gluten, which alone keeps well in the south, besides being rich and nutritious." The growth of wheat should be encouraged; the state as a whole was capable of raising enough for its own consumption and only the lack of good mills had kept more from being produced.⁴⁵

Next he turned to new feed crops for animals. Clover, millet, and Egyptian oats were being neglected by the farmer, and the emigrant would do well to get supplies of the seeds before coming into the state. In regard to efficiency in feeding sugar millet, he could suggest the use of a new patented mill made by Hickok and Company that would grind the grass properly for feeding. He concluded this essay by paying a compliment to the work and energy of his neighbor, the "remarkable" Dr. Gideon Linsecum, who was experimenting successfully with making sugar from the

⁴⁵ Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 17, 1859.

46
sorgo sucre.

The third article ranged in subject matter from climate to the scarcity of deer. Wine was again discussed at some length. A large part of the letter was a complaint about the difficulties of a removal. He was particularly angry because of the way his furniture and other household articles had been handled by the shipping concerns. It appeared that they took positive delight in destruction. On the whole, however, he was well satisfied to be settled in the country; it was a pleasant place in which to live.⁴⁷

The fourth article of the series was published on August 24. It gave further evidence of his interest in grapes and hedges. He had just returned from a short tour and had been agreeably surprised to find so much wine making. All kinds of grape beverage were offered him, and he believed that here "we have proofs of variety enough and of the vastness of winemaking resources we have in this Mustang grape. The wonder is, that in no instance, no matter how made—even when enough only to fill a demijohn was fermented in a washing tub—the result was good." Thus he could feel a certain pride in his letters encouraging the use of the wild grapes. He planned to write a separate article on the subject of hedging soon, but in the meantime a warning must be sounded. There were some who were being misled. He understood "that contracts are being made for hedging with Osage orange on the rich lands of the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Brass bottom. It is folly to attempt it. For though the contractor can and probably will perform all he promises--of leaving a close and thrifty row of young plants at the end of the second year, (and well he may for the price demanded, \$250 per mile) there the thing will end, never to be kept in hedge form, with an amount of labor that the cotton planter neither can nor will bestow on it. It becomes a stout tree in three years. On dry rocky prairie ridges a good hedge may be made from this plant; but not in rich river bottoms. I grow it largely for sale, and most heartily wish that it would serve the purpose." During the coming winter, however, he would be glad to receive contracts for hedging with the Cherokee Rose. Finally, he called for information from experienced farmers as to the best time to plant wheat and other kinds of grain. Such information was greatly needed by the newcomer. He felt that his experience was insufficient to make his advice trustworthy.⁴⁸

The Telegraph was to receive no word from Affleck for over a month after the appearance of the four articles in the "Thoughts" series. All had been written, he explained, during his evening hours while working at the Central Nurseries, but a return to Mississippi would preclude much writing. By October 19 he was again in Texas and wrote Cushing that he had not forgotten the Telegraph but that he had been nearly worked to death in getting his affairs in Texas and Mississippi in shape. He would

⁴⁸ Ibid., August 24, 1899. Washington County produced 1,980 gallons of wine in 1860; 14,199 gallons was the total for the state. A comparison cannot be made with earlier dates as no statistics are available. Eighth Census of the U. S.: 1860. Agriculture, 150.

send him some wine in a few days, along with a quantity for sale to C. E. Gregory. Texans, he thought, would be interested to know that his recently purchased Ericson motor had proved to be very satisfactory, and it "was ⁴⁹the thing for motors under 10 horse power."

His column on gardening was to appear at varying intervals throughout the rest of 1859 and in 1860. The information was much the same as that included in his Almanac, and was especially useful to the Texas planter who was apt to neglect that part of his agriculture. ⁵⁰ The editorials in the paper often called attention to the valuable information that was contained in Affleck's articles and his influence must have been considerable. The population of Texas would have been aided greatly if ⁵¹they had followed his advice more closely.

By the end of 1859 Affleck's reputation was established and his Southern and Central Nurseries were known in Texas. His affairs would not now permit the necessary time for gathering the scientific information that characterized his long and valuable essays of the past two ⁵²years. There were to appear only three more rather short articles on

⁴⁹ Affleck to Cushing, October 19, 1859.

⁵⁰ Houston Weekly, Tri-Weekly, and Daily Telegraph, November 2-December 7, 1859; May 8-September 11, 1860. Almost every weekly issue contained one of the articles between the dates indicated. Most of the articles appear to have been printed in the other issues of the paper but as only incomplete files were available this cannot be stated positively. As a rule, however, everything that Affleck wrote for the Telegraph was printed in all three issues of the paper.

⁵¹ Houston Weekly Telegraph, November 2, 1859, et seq.; Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 827.

⁵² On March 20, 1860, there appeared a reprint of an article "Roses and Their Culture," which he had published earlier in the New Orleans Picayune. He gave advice on the proper handling of roses which he explained could

agriculture before the war. They dealt with the usefulness of various grasses to Texas and were aimed to solve the problems of the agriculturist who was faced with lack of feed when the grain crops were not sufficient to last during the winter.⁵³

There were seemingly more vital things happening in Texas than planting and harvesting. Abolitionists were busy in the state and information concerning their activities was of general interest. One of the reasons why Affleck had come to Texas was to be farther removed from the activities of these "propagandists," but he had found that they were active near his new home. Correspondence on the subject of abolitionism was more interesting to the public than agricultural articles.⁵⁴ It was also most important to Affleck who now controlled many slaves.

now be procured from the Central Nurseries. He explained his disheartening experiences in establishing the nursery in Texas; most of his fruits and evergreens had been destroyed by the late frosts. But he had good supplies of many plants and would have them on the market in various centers for those who wished to purchase them. There were over three columns on the proper care of roses. He had no difficulty in getting this article printed in the Telegraph which differed from his experience with the Picayune. The results of his hard work in making his articles acceptable to the publishers in his new home state were now evident. Houston Weekly Telegraph, March 20, 1860.

53 Ibid., September 4, 1860; January 22, April 9, 1861.

54 See for example: Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 14, 1860; New Orleans Daily Picayune, August 31, 1860.

VII

TEXAN

Affleck spent the greater part of his time in Texas after June, 1859. His interests were still seriously divided as his Mississippi place must serve as the main source for nursery supplies. He wished as quickly as possible, however, to liquidate his affairs there so that he would be free to advance the interests of the Central Nurseries and his other enterprises in Texas.

A means of selling out quickly and profitably was proposed by W. W. Wilson of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in late August. A partnership was offered Affleck to sell nursery products aboard a ship that the Pennsylvanian was outfitting to trade along the rivers and bayous of Louisiana and adjoining states. Affleck agreed to the arrangement and contracted with a gardener in Pennsylvania to join Wilson, accompany the ship to make the nursery sales, and then take over the management of the Mississippi nursery. Affleck believed the trade would demand many articles that he did not have and proceeded to buy other nursery products. He reported that he had purchased \$1,500 worth of plants from England for the business. He learned to his disgust, however, that Wilson had made arrangements to have another nurseryman on the boat. Although Affleck believed that he was being treated unfairly he carried out his part of the agreement. The whole affair, however, appears to have been a failure.¹

¹ Affleck to F. J. Vogel, September 13, 1859; *id.* to W. W. Wilson, September 20, 1859. Out of the transaction Affleck got a number of sundials, but how this occurred has been impossible to determine. Some of these dials were sold but most of them were left on his hands. See Account Book, 1859-1874, p. 16.

Meanwhile, Affleck was busy at the Central Nurseries. There was a continual lack of experienced laborers. Carpenters especially were needed. Since these must be procured from the North, he had to pay their fares to Texas and offer high wages. At one time Affleck entertained the idea and entered upon correspondence to bring over immigrants from Madeira. It was found, however, that there would be considerable expense involved and as various schemes for underwriting the cost failed to materialize he abandoned the plan.²

It is possible to approximate the expensiveness of the Texas enterprise for some months of the year 1859. At times when Affleck was away he left a foreman in charge of the records and the account book entries are extant. Dunbar or Affleck himself also entered items or accounts of the plantation and nursery.³ There was at

2 Affleck to Bush and Wilson, September 21, 1859; *id.* to David Felt, October 31, 1859; James Taylor to João de Gouvea, September 17, 1859. These immigrants were to be used principally for wine making. There appeared to be every opportunity of successfully procuring all the workers needed but no attempts were made after the expensiveness of the enterprise was known.

3 It is impossible to calculate the outlay for the whole place. As at times the entries were made by Affleck the one remaining book may have been the only one that he kept for the Texas plantation. If such were the case there was a lack of careful bookkeeping on the part of the publisher of the Plantation Journal and Account Book. It is probable, however, that other more extensive account books have been lost.

Another factor makes it extremely difficult to arrive at exact sums. Obviously there were numbers of account that were charged against the plantation. For example, certain charges are debited to the wine account, others to general expenses, and others to the sawmill. But at the same time there are amounts of money debited to various individuals who must have been paying debts to Affleck. How this was managed is impossible to determine without the other books or without knowledge of the system

least \$1,100 paid out for incidental expenses during September solely for the Texas place. The support of his family is not included in this amount. Neither does it include any payments on indebtedness nor the wages of several carpenters, foremen, and other laborers who were paid at the rate of \$50 a month if skilled. The largest entries were for tools and other supplies for the sawmill amounting to \$143.94, and \$275.16 paid out for hauling parts for the mills from Hempstead.⁴ Probably the expenses for this period were much less than usual for there was food for men and work animals on the place that would have to be purchased at other times.⁵

Sum of money collected by Affleck in this same period amounted in all to about \$1,000, a great part of which was for nursery products that had been shipped from Mississippi. Some was earned by the sawmill and other interests but less than half of the amount entered appears to have been from Texas sales.⁶ These figures provide a very incomplete idea of the expense involved when a planter removed to a new region.

At the end of the year Affleck's Texas property was assessed at \$27,760.50. This amount included only the land that he held, valued at \$6 an acre; 9 negroes at \$5,000; 150 cattle at \$900; 7 horses at \$500; and implements, household furniture, jewelry, etc., at \$800. The sawmill and gristmill, planer, and other machinery were not included; they

used in the extant book. See Account Book, 1859-1874, *passim*. The book was used by Dunbar Affleck after his father's death.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-16 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11-18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

must have been worth several thousand dollars. The property in 1856 had been assessed at only \$3,600;⁷ by 1859 Affleck had made improvements on the land worth over \$14,960, and had become one of the larger taxpayers in the county.⁸

Some of the necessary expense money was being returned from various enterprises but it is obvious from the records that it was impossible for him to pay any debts. Affleck, however, seemed well pleased and enthusiastic over the prospects for the future in Texas. On October 31, 1859, he wrote to his Houston factor that the business of his mill and nursery was good. He explained that he was making preparations to leave for Mississippi soon and hoped to wind up his business there so that he could give his full time to the operations in Washington County. Stock which remained unsold would be shipped to Texas. But in the meantime he would have to make arrangements to delay payments on his debts.⁹

A tragic circumstance required departure for Mississippi soon after the above letter was written. His stepson, Calvin, who had recently returned from Scotland, died en route to Texas to see his family. His body was returned to Ingleside.¹⁰ The loss of the boy was deeply felt, and Affleck, writing to his son Dunbar, said that he could hardly drive himself to the necessary task of getting out orders directed to his Mississippi place. "Mama," he wrote, "is still terribly depressed yet,

⁷ Washington County Tax Books, 1856, 1859, in Texas University Library, Department of Archives. The tax for 1859 was \$32.70 and appears not to have been paid.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1859, passim.

⁹ Affleck to B. A. Sheppard, October 31, 1859.

¹⁰ *Id.* to Dunbar, November 13, 1859; *id.* to Captain Post, September 14, 1865.

& must inevitably continue so for some time. Time & the mercy of God can alone afford soothing to her afflicted heart. For my part, I dare not yield to my feelings of grief for the loss of my dear boy, having so much to think of & to do, that I must erect myself, feel as I may." Mrs. Affleck, he added, would not be able to leave for Texas for two months; meanwhile, completion of the new Texas home must be rushed to relieve her of further hardships.¹¹

This tragedy had made other changes of plans necessary. Now, not only Ingleside but the other property that had belonged to his stepson would be under Affleck's charge until it could be probated. He soon learned that it would be necessary from him to accept responsibility for the disposal of the inheritance.¹² Affleck began immediately to make arrangements to remove some of the slaves to Texas although the property was not probated until the June term of the court.¹³

Affleck went to Cincinnati on business before returning to his Texas home.¹⁴ Supplies must be purchased for the sawmill and the only

¹¹ Ibid. to Dunbar, November 13, 1859.

¹² Adams County (Mississippi) Probate Records, Box 174, In Re Estate of Calvin Smith; Affleck to Dunbar, December 1, 1859. The home had been sold to Calvin and, as noted above, part of the price had been paid.

¹³ Affleck to Dunbar, December 1, 1859.

¹⁴ Ibid. The plantation in Texas had been left in charge of João de Gouvea who had been working for Affleck for sometime. Dunbar had been assigned to assist in keeping affairs running smoothly but his efficiency as a worker was not proven. He caused the foreman some worry and his father much embarrassment. Dunbar had not had opportunities to assume responsibility and the problems of the Texas plantation weighed lightly on his shoulders. It was necessary for Affleck to write to his son and severely castigate him for not properly managing the shingle mill which had been his especial assignment. The father was particularly vexed when he learned from De Gouvea that Dunbar had taken some of the horses on the place and gone to a circus only a few days after the death of his half-brother.

way to get efficient machinery at a reasonable price was to go to the North where it was manufactured. While there arrangements were made for some of the manufacturers to purchase advertisements in the Almanac which would help to pay for the machinery. The trip was¹⁵ completed soon after December 1.

Upon his arrival in Texas in January, Affleck found that unsatisfactory progress had been made during his absence. Much remained to be done and it was the sort of work that needed the personal attention of the owner. Most of the letters that Affleck wrote during February and March, 1860, were concerned with reports to his wife on the work accomplished and the prospects for the future. Some allowance must be made for the fact that he wished to show that they would be comfortably settled and financially secure in their new home. Although much more care seems to have been taken in preparing for the reception of Mrs. Affleck than for anything else, nursery sales were reported¹⁶ favorable.

Affleck also reported other items that would be of interest to his wife; the health of the Negroes, the status of crops, and the happenings in the community where she was to live. The Negroes were getting along well at the beginning of February but during the next month when their labor

¹⁵ Ibid.; id. to Land and Bodley, July 12, 1860.

¹⁶ Id. to wife, February 29, 1860; id. to W. H. Elliot, March 1, 1860. Roses of which there was a considerable supply at the Central Nurseries were selling well and the Houston trade made it necessary for him to make arrangements with a prominent druggist there to handle the orders. Other nursery plants, he reported, would sell equally as well as soon as there was an adequate supply for the market.

was most needed, there was much sickness among them. It was always a source of anxiety for Affleck and his wife when members of his family, as he referred to his Negroes, were unhealthy.¹⁷

In the latter part of February, Affleck wrote of a solution to the future plans for their youngest son. A good school had been established near by and the teacher appeared to be capable.¹⁸ Another problem that had worried them both was the necessity of Affleck being away from home a great deal of the time leaving Mrs. Affleck alone and in charge of the place. To solve this problem, Affleck reported that a cousin wished to settle in Texas and had agreed to stay at Glenblythe until he could purchase land.¹⁹

In early March pleasing progress was reported on the home. The cistern was nearly completed and as soon as he could get the proper stone for finishing the arch it would be ready to receive water. All hands were at work on building materials and although he had to dismiss two carpenters he still had two for the remaining work.²⁰ A poultry yard to cost \$150 independent of the labor was nearly completed.²¹

Labor troubles continued to give Affleck much concern. The men had threatened to walk out if the foreman were not changed. The owner would not be forced into any action by threat. Although his crops were backward and there was great need of labor he was unwilling to be dictated

¹⁷ JA. to wife, February 29, 1860.

¹⁸ JA.

¹⁹ JA. to JA., March 4, 1860.

²⁰ JA. to Elliot, March 1, 1860.

²¹ JA. to wife, March 2, 1860.

to by a group of common laborers, regardless of the cost. There was a great amount of nursery plants that needed to be planted and as yet he had been unable to get in a grain of corn.

To add to the difficulty of the situation he had been informed by a neighbor from whom he had contracted to rent corn land that the price would be more than originally promised. Affleck would "see him hanged first." He would plant what little of his own land that could be prepared rather than be imposed upon by anyone. If his property were only under fence he could tell the whole bunch to "go hang." His animals could then be let out to grass, thus removing the necessity of getting extra land and labor.²²

Reports concerning the returns from the mills were promising. The grist mill had earned fourteen bushels of toll in one day, and that at the rate of one fifth. The toll could be easily raised without hurting the business. But there must be more power for the mills for greater efficiency. He was convinced that the only way to get the best returns was to have at least a sixty horsepower engine; "and a better sawmill; & turn Foreman myself for a season, till all works smoothly. The mortising machine is a laming--too slow--goes to the time of Old Hundred! the men say."²³ This report concerning the mills was designed to pave the way for further expenditures for new machinery. At this time Affleck believed that the returns from the estate of Calvin would be Mrs. Affleck's,

²² *Ibid.*

²³ See *Almanac*, 1860, p. 5, for an advertisement showing the work that was being done at the mills.

in part.²⁴ Therefore money would be available from his wife's share without an accounting to a probate court.²⁵

The lumber mill was proving to be one of Affleck's important investments. When he had returned from Mississippi in the later part of February he had found the mill overrun with orders.²⁶ It had been necessary to have much stock cut for personal use. During the early part of March the foreman had been inefficiently handling sales. Too much unfinished lumber, returning less profit than sales of finished stuff, had been sold. As the finishing machinery could be run with the same power that ran the sawmill and with only a small increase of labor it was a mistake not to sell finished lumber. Even with this fault, however, the mill had paid all expenses, including the wages of

²⁴ Affleck to wife, February 29, March 2, 1860.

²⁵ Id. to id., February 29, March 2, 5, 1860. There was another reason for Affleck's reporting so lengthily on his hard work, and the difficulties which he faced. When he had stopped in New Orleans on his way to Texas in February, he had spent considerable time talking with a lady from Natchez in a hotel lobby. The story had given excuse for some of the people of Natchez to gossip and doubtless had caused embarrassment to Mrs. Affleck. The correspondence concerning the incident reveals the deep and sincere love Affleck had for his wife.

²⁶ Id. to id., March 2, 1860. Although Affleck was very busy with the work on the place in Texas he had time for other interests. He could not be oblivious of the opportunities that were opening for him in the new state. Business was good and continued to increase. Demand for land seemed endless and the prices offered for acreage were extraordinary. At one time Affleck reported to his wife that he was thinking of entering into land speculation again. "Did I tell you," he wrote, "I am going this week, to see a tract on the Brazos some 12 to 15 miles from here, 1,300 acres at \$15? If I can, & like it after seeing it, I will buy it." "Lands of all kinds, & especially on the Brazos, is going fast. \$35 for places somewhat improved is a common price!" Id. Such information had a familiar sound to Mrs. Affleck. That he received little encouragement from her is shown by the care to explain the plans and prepare the way before he proceeded. She usually acceded to his schemes but often with little enthusiasm, and this caused him much worry.

two foremen and "the negroes employed of our own & for the use of team & board of hands, negroes &c."²⁷ He doubled his prices for dressed lumber and it did not affect the demand. The foreman had been selling rough lumber for \$40 a thousand but Affleck had gotten orders for the same type at \$60. He was resolved that the orders in the future would be only for cash on delivery as it was very difficult to collect on credit accounts. A little later he wrote to his wife that he had spent the day at the mill seeing how it was being run. "All were busy; & intended to be so solely on our own work; but that is almost impossible. Orders sent in, today, pleadingly, for over \$300. worth of lumber. And we will have to try to supply some of it, to keep the pot boiling."²⁸

The account book for the year bears out the statement that the sawmill was profitable; in fact, the principal source of cash income in Texas was from the sawmill. To illustrate: one item in the accounts shows a contract that he made with a carpenter to rebuild a house for a neighbor. Affleck realized a profit of about \$283 during a period of less than a month. Besides a labor bill for \$25 the rest was earned by the mill.²⁹ There was a great need for lumber in this section of Texas and the price seemed to be of no great consequence. If the mill had been more carefully managed doubtless

²⁷ Id. to id., March 5, 1860.

²⁸ Id. to id., March 8, 1860.

²⁹ Account Book, 1859-1874, p. 18.

much larger profits would have been realized.³⁰

Other difficulties besides improper management must be noticed in connection with the failure to make greater profits. The task of getting logs to the mill was most difficult. Affleck was forced to depend largely on horse power for sawing lumber. Usually seven experienced white hands besides roustabouts were required at the mill and skilled labor was scarce. He soon became convinced that an investment in a steam engine should be made. The wages that must be paid made efficient power and machinery profitable.³¹

Labor difficulties arose in the spring of 1860 in connection with the plantation. Cocker, the nursery foreman and general overseer of the plantation, informed Affleck in March that he wished to leave. He had become dissatisfied with his living quarters. The demand for skilled laborers in Texas made it difficult to keep foremen. Unless they were shown many favors they were enticed to other places or to lands of their own. The Negro labor on the place was troublesome at times. An epidemic of measles had slowed down their work. Some of them had become "obstreperous" under lax management that had been the rule when Affleck was away and it had been necessary for him to punish certain ones.³²

By the middle of March Affleck believed that his organization was

30 Affleck to wife, March 9, 1860.

31 *Id.* to *id.*, March 8, 9, 1860; Account Book, 1859-1874, pp. 6-22.

32 Affleck to wife, March 8, 14, 15, 1860. Susan, a faithful old servant, had to be whipped, but when she began to cry the master had stopped the punishment.

working well enough and the house was far enough along for him to return to Mississippi to attend to business there. The inheritance of his sons from the estate of Calvin Smith must be settled. On March 5 his guardianship of his sons' estate was entered upon the Washington County court records; the proper bond of twice the amount of the inheritance had been arranged with Richard R. Peebles and Thomas H. Hewes as guarantors. It was March 11 before Affleck could get the proper papers to present to the Mississippi Probate Court.³³ On March 17 Affleck departed for Mississippi after having seen to the planting of a large amount of nursery stock that had arrived packed by the hands of Mrs. Affleck.³⁴

April and May were spent in Mississippi in arranging the affairs of the estate, in preparing nursery stock to send to Texas, and in making sales.³⁵ By June 5 Affleck and his wife were again in Texas.³⁶ Meanwhile, William Copeland, a Scotchman, whom he had hired in February through his uncle, had arrived from Scotland. It was necessary to explain the work to him, but as soon as this was done Affleck prepared to return again to Mississippi.

At the June term of the Probate Court of Adams County, Mississippi, Affleck's administration of Calvin Smith's property was passed upon.

³³ Washington County Court Records, Probate Minute Books, D, 150; Affleck to wife, March 8, 1860.

³⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, March 15, 1860.

³⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, March 8, 1860.

³⁶ Houston Weekly Telegraph, June 5, 1860.

In the original appraisal of the estate, made by the court before the appointment of an administrator, the property other than land was valued at a total of \$83,005.25. This included 89 slaves, 20 mules, 2 horses, 7 yoke of oxen, 39 cattle, 54 hogs, 190 sheep, and various miscellaneous property such as hoes, wagons, carts, feed, etc.³⁷

There were also the home at Glenblythe, a plantation, Magnolia, containing 1,120 acres and appurtenances, and property in Natchez embracing a house, which was usually referred to as a warehouse, and a city lot.³⁸ Affleck was appointed guardian soon after presenting the proper papers and the bond from the Texas court. He was paid \$4,342 for his past services as administrator. The property, not including the land, now amounted to \$82,573; this was exclusive of the administration fee and shows that there was an increase in value since the last appraisalment.³⁹

While Affleck was in Mississippi during June all the property except the warehouse in Natchez was sold. Ingleside was purchased by Charles Chotard and his wife who had lived as neighbors for some time at the home of B. L. C. Wailes. The price was \$12,000, of which \$5,000 was paid in cash.⁴⁰ The Magnolia plantation was sold at auction

37 Report of Appraisers, In Re Estate of Calvin Smith, Adams County (Mississippi) Probate Court Records, Box 109.

38 A notice of sale at auction, In Re Estate of I. D. and J. H. Affleck, ibid., Box 174; Adams County Deed Records, Book NN, 6-9.

39 Decree of Final Settlement, In Re Estate of Calvin Smith.

40 This proved to be all that was paid by Chotard as Affleck sued for payment for the remainder in 1867. When Chotard could not meet the payments the property was sold at sheriff's sale for \$1,000. The amount due was \$6,746, including the interest on the past-due payments. Adams County Deed Records, Book QQ, 620.

for \$12,000 to Alex K. Farrar who also paid \$5,000 cash; the balance was paid in 1862.⁴¹ The Hatches property was offered for sale but there were no bids for it and Affleck continued to hold it as guardian.⁴² This property at one time was appraised at \$10,000, although after the war when the house had been burnt it sold for \$750. Thus in all Affleck had placed in his charge property valued at approximately \$119,973 to be used for the benefit of his sons. He received \$10,000 in cash besides the \$4,342 that he had received as administrator's fees.⁴³

The sale of Ingleside had been most disheartening to Affleck but he had progressed too far in his Texas enterprise to consider returning to Mississippi. He continued to sell the produce from the nursery although Chotard was supposed to take charge of the place soon after June 23.⁴⁴ Affleck made an inspection of the Magnolia plantation and found that the organization there was satisfactory. The crops for the year were to be continued under an agreement with the new owner. Part of the terms of the sale was that the labor would be included on the place for the remainder of the year. There is no evidence that Affleck collected from the crop that was gathered.⁴⁵

Affleck now had money that could be used for the purchase of supplies. He was under no legal obligation to abide by his wife's

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Book NN, 6-9.

⁴² *In Re* Estate of I. D. and J. H. Affleck.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; Adams County Deed Records, Book QQ, 195.

⁴⁴ Affleck to wife, June 22, 1860.

⁴⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, June 27, 1860.

wishes in the matter, but he was careful to get her assent before he expended any of the money from his sons' estate. One of the purposes of the trip to Mississippi had been to try to arrange for supplies for Glenblythe and when in New Orleans he had contracted for some corn. An agreement was reached with the firm of A. Whiting, factor and commission merchant of New Orleans, which stipulated that he would receive commissions on all the corn he sold in Texas for them. Affleck wrote his wife that the contract, although binding on Whiting, would leave him unbound as to amount, price, etc. It was further explained that he hoped to get Mr. R. R. Peebles and H. R. Groce, Mrs. Affleck's kinspeople, and others to order enough from Whiting to pay for his supply. He would be taking no risk, he emphasized, as he would deal wholly through Whiting and would not guarantee deliveries, amount, or collection. Although he believed it would be a profitable enterprise he added in this letter that he would do nothing concerning it until he consulted her. Further it would be well if they could get enough corn so that some of it could be ground into meal for sale. Five days later, however, he wrote that he was bringing 250 sacks of corn with him when he returned. This was too soon for an answer from Mrs. Affleck to have reached Mississippi.⁴⁶

Affleck was back at work in Texas by July 12. This was the time of the year when he was most busy in procuring advertisements for his

⁴⁶ Id. to Id., July 22, 27, 1860.

Almanac and much of the correspondence was concerned with that work.⁴⁷

It was possible as usual for him to kill two birds with one stone. He was planning to buy some more machinery and this possibility was used to encourage the company of Lane and Bodley, from whom he had bought his last sawmill and the mortising machine, to buy space in the Almanac. He explained to them that he needed a snut machine and a scroll saw, and that in view of past satisfaction with their products, they would receive the order. He would shortly publicize the value of their machines in the Galveston News.⁴⁸

The sawmill had proven so successful that Affleck believed he could profitably add to the machinery. Besides the scroll saw that he ordered from Lane and Bodley, he ordered a new foot morticer and a large amount of miscellaneous supplies obviously intended for making furniture and wagon parts. In addition there were several replacements bought for the mill.⁴⁹

In the early part of October, Affleck and his wife decided to journey to the Middle West to purchase supplies. They stopped for a time at Memphis, then continued on to St. Louis where most of the

47 Id. to David Felt, July 12, August 7, 1860; id. to William Ferry, Jr., August 7, 1860. The most significant advertisement order was again that of Wheelock and Company, New Orleans druggists. This was for ten pages and they were to purchase 30,000 Almanacs. In return for this Wheelock was to pay \$1,350 which would guarantee the success of the Almanac for 1861. Id. to Wheelock and Company, August 7, 1860.

48 Id. to Lane and Bodley, July 12, 1860.

49 Id. to A. J. Burke, August 7, 1860; id. to F. R. Slocumb and Company, August 7, 1860; id. to W. F. C. Cook, August 7, 1860; id. to S. R. Gilman, August 7, 1860.

purchases were made. Equipment was procured that would be needed to carry the slaves to Texas and for their occupation after they were safely there. Eight large mares, a pair of horses, eight mules, suitable wagons, and harness were purchased. Various other miscellaneous supplies were bought; some of it for furnishing the home.⁵⁰ They returned to Mississippi and made arrangements for moving the slaves and the other appurtenances of the Magnolia plantation.

It was November 8 before all had been made ready for the journey. The hardships that were undergone can be readily understood from the account that Mrs. Affleck sent to her son Dunbar. She had remained behind in Natches while her husband had started overland with the slaves, teams, wagons, etc. The weather had been bad when they started, and she could think of nothing else but the hardships that they must undergo. "We did not make a start from Washington until about 11 oc. Monday 5th the negroes from the plantation arriving here about 2 oc. same day--Father having some things to purchase such as supplies &c. concluded they could not get farther than the other bank of the river & that it would be better to pitch tent here--which they did in the lot of Dr. Ingsa. It began to rain that night, the next day it held up, & all hands started; about 11 oc. they crossed the river & expected to camp at the end of the Lake (Concordia), it rained again at night and all day yesterday--& last night it poured torrential! This morning

⁵⁰ Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, October 16, November 8, 1860. It seems probable that he purchased the steam engine at this time.

still cloudy and drizzling & much too warm to clear up--. What will they do--crossing that low-flat-country Louisiana from which the water never runs off! Oh! what a time they will have of it. There are 65 negroes along, two women have babies just three weeks old today! They were not willing to be left behind, so were taken along. Mr. French, the overseer, & Mr. Maddox, the man Pa hired to bring the horses down the river who drives one of the wagons--& Pa are the only whites in the caravan--there are two large 4 mule team-wagons--two smaller wagons, one with 4 the other two horses--one large Ambulance a sort of spring covered wagon--with 4 horses, and a cart with one immensely large powerful horse--and your father in a Cab with one horse--a splendid animal he bought for my driving. There is a lot of horses besides Mole and the two colts, Raley with two colts & Oswald's (Tilghman) mare--her colt was too young to travel and Pa gave it to Dr. Inge. Just imagine the quantity of food necessary to fill too many mouths two or three times a day--and passing through the country when the crops are so short! Only think of the burden of care & anxiety Pa has on his mind--his exposure and all--and learn to appreciate him--for it is for his children he labors, & hopes for a return to see you good, honorable, well educated and useful men."⁵¹ Despite the many misgivings, Affleck arrived safely in Texas with his charges.

⁵¹ Id. to Id., November 2, 1860.

Mrs. Affleck and nine old Negroes departed from Natchez by boat on November 10. She had feared the effects of an overland trip on the old slaves and thus had decided to keep them with her. Upon her arrival in Texas she found things in an unsatisfactory state. The house was being raised so that an extra story could be added under the original one. There was a great amount of work to be done such as fixing quarters, preparing clothes, providing quilts and blankets, and attending to incidental matters involved in the care of a family of over a hundred.⁵²

In January, 1861, Affleck was again in Mississippi. It was necessary for him to remove the remaining large supply of nursery stock at Ingleside or leave it for the new owner, Chotard, who was to be in full charge on February 1. Another factor made the trip necessary at this time. Food for the animals at Glenblythe was again depleted and a supply must be procured so that spring plowing and planting could be done. Affleck was without funds and credit must be found for the purchase of the necessary provisions for the plantation in Texas.⁵³

When Affleck passed through New Orleans on January 12 he found business very unsettled and credit difficult to arrange. "Everyone here," he wrote, "is much excited by the constantly arriving news of States Seceding &c., Florida, Ala., Miss., & So. Ca. are out & all

⁵² *Id.* to *id.*, November 8, 24, 1860.

⁵³ Affleck to wife, January 12, 1861.

the rest will be in a few days. Even Md. & Va." He added that "All the Forts, arsenals &c. are by this time in the hands of the State authorities." There was plenty of money in New Orleans "for those who don't need it," and "cotton, corn &c. &c. all going up, up!"⁵⁴ There was no mention of impending war.

Conditions in Mississippi were also depressing. Affleck found no joy in talking with friends and spent his time in the Ingleside nursery preparing plants and seeds for sale and shipment to Texas. He was able to sell a large amount of the stock but at "ruinous" prices. The hours and days and years that he had spent in building the nursery now seemed to have been wasted. He must allow the plants to be sold as if they were ordinary stock. He wrote as if he regretted the sale of Ingleside because of the new advantages of its position. The situation was explained to his wife thus: "Now, all intercourse with the North will be cut off for years to come. And I would have had the control of a vast market. I must push it even yet, & where I now am settled. I can make it pay well, even with a limited list of specialities."⁵⁵ At this time Affleck could only see advantages that would accrue from secession. Yankee competition and salesmanship would be less bothersome.

Sales were made amounting to more than \$1,000 but most of the money was applied to Natchez debts. What money he managed to keep

⁵⁴ Id. to id., January 12, 13, 1861.

⁵⁵ Id. to id., January 12, 18, 26, 29, 30, February 1, 1861.

and a small amount that he borrowed was lost when the ship on which he had taken passage to New Orleans burned and sank. Not only was his money lost but some very important records and much nursery stock as well. To his wife he explained that the loss in money had been \$700 and to his son he reported the loss besides the money as "All my papers, notes, bonds, &c. And an immense amot. of nursery stock, young plants by the thousands--all lost & uninsured." He realized where his mistake had been made now that it was too late; he had been traveling on Sunday.⁵⁶

New Orleans was found to be more unsettled when he arrived there on the return trip than before. Credit seemed impossible. "Here no man--no matter what his status--can get money--or supplies; unless he is so indebted to his Factor that he must help him." And to add to the difficulties "Lincoln's threats of Coercion, have made matters worse even than when I arrived."⁵⁷

As usual the Afflecks made the best of a bad situation. Affleck's letters home from time to time advised planting large amounts of food for the slaves and animals so that there would not be a recurrence of the predicament now facing them. Early grain and forage crops might tide them over until fall. By March 4 Affleck was at Glenblythe and was endeavoring to find solutions to the many problems.⁵⁸ He had received some money from the property in Mississippi as part of Mrs.

⁵⁶ *Id.* to Dunbar, February 12, 1861; *id.* to wife, February 12, 1861.

⁵⁷ *Id.* to wife, February 15, 1861.

⁵⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, February 12, 15, 17, 1861.

Affleck's share of the estate left by her son, and this had been forwarded to her earlier. Probably it helped to procure some of the necessary supplies.⁵⁹ No doubt, however, the spring and summer was a most difficult period, despite a comfortable home, a healthy country, and a sociable community.

During March, Affleck's correspondence shows that he was using every means that he knew to raise money or to get supplies on credit. On the twenty-first he sent a very urgent letter to R. Nugent, a factor in New Orleans with whom he had earlier business dealings, appealing for assistance. "I am in the most terrible strait now, that ever a poor fellow was caught in!" he wrote. "I have not even time to return to New Orleans & endeavor to procure supplies, as I have not more than enough on the place for one week! And nothing to be had here." Affleck pledged his "sacred honor" that if Nugent would allow him supplies on credit he would be the first to be paid when funds were received.⁶⁰ He tried to sell Almanac advertisements for the next year in the hope that payments would be made in advance to ease the crisis. Letters to printers show, however, that plans for publication had not proceeded far because of the fear of war.⁶¹

During the early part of April, Affleck found it absolutely

⁵⁹ Id. to id., January 1, 1861.

⁶⁰ Id. to M. Nugent, March 21, 1861.

⁶¹ Id. to F. W. C. Cook, March 21, 1861; id. to E. H. Cushing, March 21, 1861; id. to Lane and Bodley, March 25, 1861; id. to H. Q. Stetson and Company, March 25, 1861.

necessary to go to New Orleans for supplies. A letter written at this time shows the anxiety that he felt for the future, and the grave problems already being faced at his home. At the time that he composed the letter he was waiting for a boat to leave for New Orleans. The weather had been very bad. "I'll have a sick time of it, sure. But, since I am thus far, will go. I must have the means to pay R. R. charges. And I must pay off some of those men,⁶² & some other items. So as to less^[en] outlay afterwards. It is spoken of, that money is now seeking investment freely in N. O. And, as many now see greater prospect of fighting with the north towards fall, than even hitherto,-- owing to their determination to hold Tortugas & Key West at all hazards; & owing to the fact, that at their recent State Elections, almost all elected were rabin ^[sic] abolitionists--I think best...^[torn] & get enough to leave me...^[torn] to devote myself, with all that may be in me, to pushing business all I can, relieved from so much anxiety."⁶³ Texas was already a member of the Confederacy and preparations for the defense of its right to secede were being made.

If a Texas county in 1860-1861 were picked to compare favorably with sections in older areas of the South with large plantations and slaves and genteel society, Washington County would be chosen. There had settled some of the earliest migrants to the state; along the

⁶² Doubtless he was referring to freight charges on additions to his mills and wages for the men he had hired to work at the sawmill. He owed several of the workers large sums of money in back wages. See Account Book, 1859-1874, p. 181.

⁶³ Affleck to wife, April 5, 1866.

Brasos bottom and on the black rolling lands of the hills had grown up a civilization that compared favorably with plantation areas in the older states. There were good schools and churches and the people prided themselves on their interest in public affairs and patriotism; their soldiers were among the first to be ready to fight for the Confederacy. Centrally located in the county was Brenham, the county seat, which was connected by railroad with Houston and Galveston. Regular packets brought fineries and other comforts from New Orleans. Many planters who had moved from Louisiana or Mississippi still subscribed to the Picayune and dealt with New Orleans factors.⁶⁴

Statistics show that the county was the most populous and the second richest in the state; the property was evaluated highest per acre. In 1860 there was a total population of 15,215 of whom 7,941 were slaves. There was a total value upon the property, real and chattel, of \$18,239,011 compared with \$5,125,180 ten years earlier. On the 76,411 acres of land in cultivation there had grown 22,900 bales of cotton and enough foodstuffs to make the county practically self-sufficient under normal conditions.⁶⁵

The Washington County Tax Records indicate that Thomas Affleck was one of the largest landholders in the county. At one time he

⁶⁴ E. W. Spaight, The Resources, Soil, and Climate of Texas (Galveston, 1882), 328-30.

⁶⁵ Brenham Banger, quoted in Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 23, 1860. See also, Texas Almanac for 1860, pp. 205-207; U. S. Census, 1860: Population, 486.

paid more taxes than all except two people in the county.

The most accurate description of the Affleck plantation was written soon after the war by the owner himself. It was located nearly in the center of the county about eight miles from Brenham, near the Yegua River. It consisted of about 3,500 acres of which less than 200 acres were in cultivation in 1860. This cultivated portion of the plantation was made up of both bottom and hilly land making a crop on one or the other almost a surety. There was plenty of fine hardwood timber and one hundred acres of natural meadow besides plentiful grass in the woods pastures. Besides this there was the nursery, plantation gardens, orchards, stock lots, and incidental appurtenances to make the plantation more nearly self-sufficient.⁶⁷

The description that he gave of his home, according to one who saw it, is accurate. "The dwelling house is one of the most comfortable & commodious in the state; & situated in a very beautiful & elevated prairie valley, studded over with Live-oak & other crops. I have no hesitation in saying, that the location is one of the most healthy on this continent....The entire tract is unusually well watered, by springs & large & permanent tanks. A fine cement cistern under the house, affords abundance of delicious, pure & cool water. The house contains six bedrooms, large and airy; dining-room & parlour; two large & pleasant halls; dressing & bath-rooms; kitchen, laundry-room, & storeroom in a convenient L.; pantries & closets; a cellar 30 x 50 feet; two galleries each

⁶⁷ "Glenblythe" (Description written by Affleck in 1865 when he was planning to rent the place for a year). Interview with Mrs. Angie Inge Foulkes, Houston, Texas, April, 1939.

50 x 12, & three large enclosed galleries; a garret lumber-room, 50 x 20 feet &c. A large smoke & meat house, with large gallery, cisterns &c. A carriage house & grainery, each 30 x 20 feet. Stables & corn-cribs. Comfortable servants' houses. Large & well enclosed poultry yard, pigeonry &c. Within 150 yards are five or six comfortable houses, for farmhands." Two miles from the main house were the plantation quarter and the mill. The quarter comprised an overseer's house of two large rooms, a combination church and hospital, a storehouse, and twenty snug frame houses, measuring sixteen by ⁶⁸ twenty feet, for the Negroes.

The mill property consisted of a building of two and a half stories, thirty-five by sixty feet, and another three story structure, joined to form an L, that measured twenty by forty feet. The first held the mills while the latter was the ginhouse with ginstand and press. The engine that furnished the power for the sawmill, flour mill, smutting machine, corn mill, and gin was a ten by twenty inch cylinder powered by a tubular boiler. When the sawmill was in use it required all of the power but all of the other machinery could be run at one time from the engine. The machinery was for the most part the most efficient procurable. "The Sawmill is one of Lane & Bodley's best iron-framed mills," Affleck wrote. "The Flouring-mill is only of 30 inch Burr-stones; but turns out 60 to 70 bushels per day--toll, one-

68 "Glenblythe." See also, Mrs. Annie Inge Foulles, "My Memories," in possession of Mrs. Foulles, Houston, Texas. Mrs. Foulles, the daughter of Dr. Inge, spent several years at Glenblythe during and after the war.

fifth....The cornmill...grinds about 120 bushels per day--toll, one-fourth. The corn-mill more than breads the place, & with the wheat bran, which few customers take away, feeds & fattens a large stock of hogs. The planer is one of Woodworth's." The other machinery was all of good patents. As it kept in fair running order during the Civil War it must have been durable. Toll for cutting lumber was one half and for ginning cotton, one tenth.

Near the mill there were still other houses and tools and machinery. There was a blacksmith's shop and a large sugar and sorghum mill with three iron rollers and a good range of four kettles. There was also "a comfortable frame house, of four rooms, overlooking the mill property, & distant 150 yards, for the mill foreman." A frame⁶⁹ cooper's shop and a carriage house were added during the war.

The nursery in Texas never played the significant part in Affleck's economy as it had in Mississippi. With the large amount of property and many slaves that were now under his control it was necessary to have work for all. A nursery could profitably occupy only ten or fifteen hands under the direction of an overseer. Thus Affleck lived more the life of a large-scale planter in Texas than a nurseryman. His reputation as a prominent nurseryman continued, but his interests were necessarily turned in many directions.

69 "Glenblythe."

VIII
CIVIL WAR

The population of Texas in 1860 aggregated 604,215. Of this number 421,294 were white, 182,566 were slave, and 355 were free colored. The percentage of less than one third Negroes would not appear large were it not for the fact that the area containing considerable colored population was restricted. Principally because of transportation difficulties and improper soil the plantation area had not spread beyond the river counties of the eastern and southern parts of the state. The western limit of cotton production was roughly the San Antonio River and a line drawn due north of San Antonio to the Red River. The counties best adapted to cotton and to a much less extent to sugar cane, however, were those in the valleys of the Guadalupe, Colorado, Brazos, Old Caney, Trinity, and Sabine rivers, and of Caney Creek, and here most of the slave population of the state was located. Although the river bottom lands yielded the largest crops of cotton per acre, the uplands bordering on the valleys produced the staple profitably because of the greater ease of cultivation. Washington County bordered on the Brazos River, and small tributaries crossed it in several places, making the region ideal for staple production and slave labor.¹

The slaves held in Washington County in 1860 were second in

¹ United States Census: 1860, Population, 484-86; ibid., Agriculture, 240-42; Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," in loc. cit., 151-71; Texas Almanac for 1867, p. 180.

number only to Harrison County.² In 1861 Affleck and his sons held only a few less slaves than the largest slaveholder in the county, and they were among those who would have been badly harmed financially by any action that would disrupt the system of labor. It was to be expected that slaveholders would fear and talk much of abolitionism.³

Evidence, of whatever doubtful validity, was at least clear enough during 1859 and 1860 to convince Affleck and others of like circumstance that the abolitionists were determined to gain control of the South and destroy slavery. The Houston Telegraph carried reports of their work and heightened the fear of insurrection.⁴ On November 9, 1859, this paper favorably reported anti-abolitionist measures adopted at Brenham and Chappell Hill meetings. Resolutions were passed declaring for nonintercourse with the North, for stringent laws against abolitionists, and for the organization of minutemen or vigilantes for the protection of the South against the activities

² United States Census: 1860, Population, 486; ibid., Agriculture, xxix-xxxi. Washington County had 7,941 slaves out of a total population of 15,215, or 52.1 per cent; slaves in Texas as a whole amounted to 30.2 per cent. Washington County had the largest number of slaveholders who owned more than 100; the total slaveowners were, however, only 627. Affleck was one of fifty-four men in the state who controlled over one hundred slaves. Washington County had a foreign population of 1,251, most of whom were German and held no slaves. See Washington County Tax Book, 1861 (Texas University Department of Archives); United States Census: 1860, Population, 485.

³ See Harvey Wish, "The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1856," in Journal of Southern History, 7 (1939), 206-22, for a discussion of a similar period to that of 1859-1860.

⁴ See Houston Telegraph, August 24, 1859, et seq.; Robert P. Folgar, "Texas in the War for Southern Independence, 1861-1865" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas, 1935), 13-14, 22-23.

of the northern fanatics.⁵ Throughout the year 1859, there were reports of incendiary abolitionist activities in various parts of the state.⁶

Especially around Brenham, but in other parts of Washington County also there was much cause for concern in 1860. On July 3 it was reported that abolitionists had been caught at Brenham. The Galveston News reported that there were at least three hundred in the state at the time.⁷ On July 28 a meeting was held near Chappell Hill after a handbill had been circulated detailing the news of the burning of Dallas, Denton, and other towns in North Texas. This destruction was the work of the abolitionists in that part of the state, the handbill stated. The meeting, reported by Secretary Thomas Affleck, was called "to consult as to the means to be used to aid our neighbors to the northward if they should require aid; and to guard against any incendiary attempts amongst ourselves." There were many who spoke "freely, warmly and to the point, expressing what was the unanimous sentiment of all present, that though no danger whatever was to be apprehended, of insurrectionary attempts on the part of our negroes, a close watch must be kept upon the movements of suspected persons, who are known to be amongst us, with incendiary abolition attempts in view; and that the most summary punishment must be promptly meted

5 Brenham Ranger, quoted in Houston Weekly Telegraph, November 9, 1859.

6 Folgar, "Texas in the War," 13-14.

7 Galveston Weekly News, July 31, 1860.

out to all whom a prudent committee of safety may be satisfied were guilty." The action of the northern abolitionists, and the inaction of those in the North and West who claimed to oppose the fanatics, were commented upon with equal severity. A committee was appointed by the organization group to draft resolutions, "to consult upon the state of affairs," and to report to the next meeting.⁸

When the citizens of Affleck's community or "patrol beat" met soon after the initial meeting, confirmation of the news from the northern part of the state had reached the community, resulting in still greater excitement. Affleck reported that the people were acting with great care and that "prudent and judicious councils prevailed," but "Should any be found guilty of tampering in any manner whatever with our slave population, their punishment will be more certain and severe." In fact, he added, "the bullet or the halter will be the tenderest mercy they need expect." The committee appointed by the earlier meeting presented sixteen resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. They viewed with "alarm and abhorrence" the destructive work in the northern part of the state, "believing it to be the work of incendiaries, instigated thereto by northern fanaticism." The body offered their assistance to the people who had lost their property by the deeds of these abolitionists. Being convinced that these northern emissaries would stop at nothing, they resolved that nine men should be selected by the resolutions committee to form a

⁸ Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 14, 1860.

secret committee of safety, a majority of whom could act; that a company of minutemen should be organized; and that extra patrols should be maintained. No one of intemperate habits was to be allowed to serve on any of the responsible committees or patrols, and the Negroes were to be watched very carefully to see that they did not come into possession of "spiritous liquor." Transients and nonresidents in the district were also to be watched. After several resolutions concerning the adoption and publication of the work of the meeting, it was resolved "That it is improper, at present time, for slaves to assemble for religious worship, under any circumstances, unless it be on the premises or under the supervision of their owners."

In reporting the meeting Affleck added that "surely, when a neighborhood like this is forced to use precautions like these, the danger is deemed imminent. There was no intention in passing of this resolution of casting suspicion upon any of these several clergy amongst us. But [its purpose was] to guard against irregular meeting, at which the negroes are exposed to be influenced by scoundrels who creep in for the...purpose of misleading them."⁹ The people of Washington County were determined not to be caught off guard if it were possible to prevent it. They felt deeply the plight of their neighbors in North Texas, for they believed that if such a destruction could be successful in a neighborhood where the Negroes were scatter-

⁹ *Ibid.*

ing, there was even greater danger in the more thickly populated Negro sections.¹⁰

Fear for the future was general over the whole state. The Galveston Daily News editorialized the misgivings of the mass of people, especially the slaveholders, and warned everyone to be on guard.¹¹ The Brenham Ranger of August 10 reported that several Negroes had been arrested as result of the investigation made by citizens' committees. An insurrection planned for election day had aroused suspicions, and several Negroes and transient whites had been implicated in incendiary activities. There was much concern expressed, but before any reprisals were instituted, the outcome of the presidential election was to be

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ "Every mail brings us accounts of some new outbreak--some further disturbances--some incendiarism, or some murder in the interior; and nearly all of these things are directly traced to negroes who have been tampered with by white men, or to vagabond white abolitionists themselves.

"That there has been anything like a well matured plot for an insurrection, beyond the limits of the Counties of Dallas, Ellis and Denton, we do not believe; but that white men have passed through very many counties in the State, stirring up disaffection in the minds of the negroes, we have the most undoubted evidence. There may have been a plot concocted, to be extended through the whole State. Perhaps there was. If so, it has defeated itself--the first note of alarm having put the people in every section on the alert, and set them to watching. Still there is mischief yet lurking among us. The emissaries of the plot, if plot there was, though foiled in their original plan, yet appear to be traveling about the country. The fires at Austin, Henderson and other places, and the attempted fires in Tyler, Gilmer and a dozen other towns, unerringly point to this conclusion. Besides,... negroes are daily discovered in different parts of the State, at points widely different from each other, supplied with arms and ammunition. Runaways are taken up, who, under the lash, confess that they were enticed away by white men. Insubordination on plantations leads to inquiry, and in all cases, the investigations show that the seeds of disaffection have been sown in the minds of the slaves." Galveston Daily News, August 14, 1860.

awaited.¹² Affleck wrote to one of his northern friends that "The Abolitionists--emissaries sent out from the North, they themselves say,--are trying a high game here; & a good many of them have been swung high. This is the day set for the Insurrection as our Negroes have voluntarily informed us--being the day of the State Elections. But we have no fears, except of midnight fires. And these have been terrible. But we are on our guard. Oh! the wretched accursed, damnable fools!"¹³

A notice that Henderson, Texas, had been burned by "incendiaries" was reported in the Houston Telegraph of August 21, 1860. This aroused the fears of the public to new heights. The Brenham Ranger stated that there was great excitement in Washington County and that there had been an attempt to hang three Negroes, two for the murder of their master and one for killing another Negro. The lynchers had only been dissuaded from action by a judge of the state Supreme Court, who had arrived in time.¹⁴ Notices of destruction, evidently exaggerated and indications of fear, appeared regularly in the newspapers of the state. After the near panic of August the excitement subsided somewhat, but the people were alert and expectant of further troubles.¹⁵

¹² Galveston Weekly News, August 7, 14, 1860; Brenham Ranger, August 10, quoted in ibid., August 14, 1860.

¹³ Affleck to David Felt, August 7, 1860. See also id. to E. B. Wheelock, August 7, 1860.

¹⁴ Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 21, 1860; Brenham Ranger, quoted in ibid.

¹⁵ Galveston Daily News, August 14, 1860 ff.; Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 21, 1861, et seq.

Affleck's experiences and reading had left a deep hatred of the activities and purposes of the extreme radicals in the North, but, at the same time, sorrow that they did not realise the harm they were doing. He believed that most Northerners were being misled by people with selfish purposes, and were ignorant of southern attitudes and problems.¹⁶ In writing to the New Orleans Picayune in late August on general conditions in Texas, Affleck told of the dangerous work that had been carried on by the abolitionists. Most people in the state were expecting good food crops, he wrote, although some few would suffer from drought. But even if there were no crops at all, the people should be grateful if they were alive and their homes were intact. "Just think...of what is the condition of those whose houses and their all have been consumed in those incendiary fires which have been so destrustible amongst us, and coming upon them in a season like this! Oh that those devils in human shape, who sent the wretches here to tamper with our negroes, and have caused us all this suffering, could be got hold of and handed over to the tender mercies of this thoroughly and justly enraged people! But, unhappily, they are beyond reach, it is to be feared, and even but a small proportion of their fiendish and fanatical associates have been caught and found guilty; not perhaps more than twenty or twenty-five in all; whilst not less than double that number of their poor, ignorant instruments, the negroes, have been found guilty and executed."

16 In 1859 one of Affleck's trusted servants, a woman named Caroline, had been enticed away from Glenblythe by a supposed abolitionist. Clipping of an article by I. D. Affleck in Affleck Papers, Rosenberg Library.

The exasperation of Texans had been increased, Affleck reported, by the "sneers and doubts of Northern papers, implying that the whole thing was a mere electioneering ruse! But they only judged of us by themselves. When the news first reached us that the town of Dallas was burnt to the ground, together with other towns, villages, stores, dwellings, &c.; and that the proofs were clear that abolition emissaries or their tools amongst the negroes, were the incendiaries; with all the particulars of the intended attempt at insurrection, murder, rapine, &c., to take place on the day of the State elections the people here, and, I suppose, elsewhere, were for the moment stunned into feeling of doubt if the thing were as bad as represented." Prompt measures were at once taken, however, "public meetings called and fully attended, in every neighborhood; vigilant committees and patrols of prudent men appointed, with full power to act in emergency; negroes kept closely at home, their premises searched for arms, &c; strict discipline enforced amongst them; and every reasonable precaution taken."

The proofs were so strong, Affleck believed, "that even the New York Tribune may believe them, that an attempt, fearful to think of even in its failure, has been made against the peace and lives of the people of this lovely country." "Are there on earth wretches more vile than those who have instigated such an attempt?" he questioned. "How is it possible that intelligent human beings can calmly look on such a crime?"

Affleck had at first been inclined to doubt "that any people or individuals could be mad enough to make such an attempt—but soon had ample proofs, that the negroes in various parts of the State had an idea that something—they knew not what—was to be done, in which they were

to take part, aided by white men and led on by a President, who had been or was to be elected; who was to set them all free, give them all the property, &c. in the country, when they would have no more work to do. By their own accounts, white men, strangers, passing through the country, or who met them at religious meetings or frolics, had told them this. Some few of them were pointed out. In the northern part of the State, arms, ammunition and strychnine had been found in the possession of negroes. The negroes were incited to rise on the day of the State election--the first Monday in August--when most of the adult male population would be at the polls and generally without arms, attack the dwellings, seize the arms and ammunitions, kill all but the young women, follow up the polls, where they were led to expect white men from the North to aid them."

But these "fiends knew but little of the negro, after all. Few could be induced to listen to them, although there were enough to do a vast amount of mischief, but when it came to the suggestion of killing of their masters, mistresses and families, they could not be brought to act at all. No such plot ever was or ever will be carried out in these States. A few may be seduced into crimes and robbery by appeals to the coarsest passions, but there are too many of the negroes too deeply attached to their masters and families to let any foul plot come to maturity, and, if attempted, it could not be carried out in anything more than mere isolated instances. The sole result would be, if it became at all general, the utter extirpation of the negro race. What

then do these madmen expect to effect?"¹⁷

By April, 1861, Affleck would have answered his own question by saying that they wished war--these radicals and abolitionists and Black Republicans. Affleck was never quite certain of what percentage of Northerners were radical abolitionists or of how many people in the North were in favor of their policies. He had often deprecated the character of the Yankee trader and had warned against his heartlessness and selfishness. But Affleck always retained kind feelings for many Northerners whom he differentiated from the hated "Radical," "Abolitionist," "Black Republican," and even "Yankee." Sometimes these "despised persons" appeared to be few and sometimes legion. But whatever their number, they caused the master of more than a hundred slaves to worry at all times. Outside influences must not be allowed to destroy his and the Negroes' chances of enjoying the prosperity that Texas promised them.

On the eve of the war Affleck was on his way to New Orleans to secure much needed food and other supplies. He had heard that money was available there, particularly to Texans. But the consequences of the election of "rabid abolitionists" in most of the northern states made him doubt that he would be able to get the necessary credit and assistance that he had hoped.¹⁸ The foreboding that Affleck felt when he wrote home on April 5, 1861, was based upon his knowledge of the probable reactions of the people of the South.

¹⁷ New Orleans Picayune, August 31, 1860.

¹⁸ Affleck to wife, April 5, 1861.

Seven days later the bombardment of Fort Sumter began, and with it a new phase in Affleck's career. Again he took his place among the leaders of his section to help his country--this time by showing through work and practical example that economic self-sufficiency was possible and necessary. The advice that Affleck gave through the newspapers to the people of Texas and the South during the Civil War was invaluable, and showed that he was more farsighted than most Southerners. He had lived in the North and knew that the section was a strong enemy and that the South had been backward in its preparation for a crisis of the sort that now faced it. Affleck had always preached the fallacy of the South's too great reliance upon the North for supplies. Now he could show with more emphasis past and present error. It was necessary for the South to rely upon its own resources and provide its own supplies, and Affleck felt that it was not a curse, but a blessing, however dreadfully disguised. When he wrote of economy and self-sufficiency in this period, he was expressing no new note. That the South was a dependent section used as a source of wealth for the North was an old topic in his essays. People of the South, particularly large planters, had not given proper attention to what he said, and he himself had followed the path of least resistance and had purchased most of his manufactured goods and many other supplies from northern sources. There must necessarily be a period when producers of competitive supplies would be faced with great hardships not felt by older and more experienced producers. Now that the South must produce its own supplies, industries could no longer be neglected. Supplies produced in the South would be better adapted to the section because they would be made and developed for the task that they were to perform.

Affleck early saw the important place that Texas was to hold as a source of food supply, not only for its own people in the armies but also for the rest of the Confederacy. Although in the spring and summer of 1861 there appeared to be plentiful stores of food and good prospects of bountiful crops, his text was "Economy is, and must continue to be, the order of the day."¹⁹ The Houston Telegraph, the newspaper for which Affleck usually wrote during the war and with which he had been rather closely connected since his arrival in Texas, was under the capable editorship of Cushing, also a leader in the drive for economy and greater production, particularly in foodstuffs. Affleck was the principal writer for the paper on the subject of agricultural management, and he and the editor emphasized each other's ideas.

It would be impossible to measure Affleck's influence on the success of Texas in raising supplies of food, or to weigh his responsibility for converting cotton fields into food producing acreage. His articles and letters, however, appeared frequently and were apparently always printed in full in a paper often of only one small sheet devoted otherwise to military news. This fact is of importance because the letters from other correspondents were usually printed only in part. Certainly the editor of the paper, who was noted for his foresight, believed that Affleck's writings were of value to the state and to the South.²⁰ That Affleck's practice and policy as advocated in the papers were taken seriously by Texans seems a justifiable conclusion.

¹⁹ Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 3, 1861.

²⁰ See for example ibid., May 14, 22, 29, 1861, et seq.; especially after August, 1861. Almost all correspondence of a general nature was replaced by information concerning the war, and only those articles that the editor believed would serve the welfare of the country generally were given space.

During May-July, 1861, Affleck wrote most about methods to be²¹ used for conservation of food and for greater production. In a long article appearing on June 5, entitled "How to Tan Leather," he wrote on the probable effects of the war on southern economy. He was convinced that "the wretched fanatics and fools, formerly our fellow citizens, now our bitter enemies, the Yankee government of the North, will blockade our coasts." They had it in their power to do so, Affleck believed, and he was convinced that the power would be exercised. How long the blockade would last "or what the end will be, no man can foresee." Although for a time there would be great hardship, in the end it would be of greatest benefit. "We will be thrown entirely upon our own resources," he continued, and forced "to the practice of right economy, and to the building of factories and a commerce of our own." Although agricultural conditions were good, it would be necessary for the people to economize and to learn how to supply their needs for clothing, shoes, and other necessities, and a knowledge of the proper means to tan leather was essential to this end. "Hides are almost unsaleable, and shoes cannot be had from Yankeedom, thanks to the fools themselves, nor even from Europe, where they can be purchased both cheaper and of infinitely better quality. So there never was a better time to test the²² possibility of making our own." In addition to furnishing advice about leather, Affleck explained a method of growing celery and other

²¹ Ibid., May 7, 14, 22, 29, June 5, 1861.

²² There followed a long column on the method of making finished leather. In all there was enough material written by Affleck to fill almost a complete page. These articles had doubtless appeared in other issues of the Telegraph, which are unavailable.

vegetables. Acting on the advice of his wife, on June 12, he informed the people of the state as to the best way to preserve butter. Butter so preserved was even better than that "ever made in any part of Yankeedom, and incomparably superior to any ever sent South."²³

Two weeks later Affleck was again explaining his formula for wine making and was asking others for an exchange of information on this subject.²⁴

When the blockade, established at Galveston on July 2, 1861, had been later extended to the rest of the coast, the people of Texas realized more clearly the seriousness of war. Eight thousand troops had been sent out from the state a week after the attack on Sumter, and now the Governor was called upon for twenty more companies for service in the Army of Virginia; thirty-two companies took advantage of the call to go where there would be fighting. Although this action was what the soldiers of the state had been clamoring for, it brought to the doors of the hitherto comparatively untouched population of Texas

²³ Houston Weekly Telegraph, June 12, 1861. The editor added in his columns the following note: "We give our readers an article to-day, on the subject of making butter in Texas from the pen of Thos. Affleck. And hope it will turn the attention of every farmer and his wife, in the land to the subject. How many are there who with forty, sixty, or a hundred cows, go without butter in the winter? And this too while they have it in their power to supply half a city with the article and put five hundred dollars in their pocket. Scarcely a planter's wife in the country, and particularly a stock raiser's wife, but could support her family, dress herself and daughters in silk, and educate them in the highest style, by her dairy along. And let us add that the best part of their education would be that by which they could manage their own families, when they have them, in the same way. Read the article and go to work at once. We promise a market for all that will be made, and will take the best hundred pounds that come ourself."

²⁴ In the same issue of June 12 there was a digest of the stray laws of the state, which Affleck had previously prepared for his own guidance and which he believed would be invaluable to all who owned stock. Ibid., June 12, 26, 1861.

25

the realization of actual participation in the conflict. More than ever there was a desire to know what those who must remain at home could do for the service of their country.

As if in reply to this increased interest, there appeared in the Houston Weekly Telegraph of July 3, four separate essays by Affleck, three of which dealt with subjects of vital importance to the Confederacy. Affleck repeated an earlier warning of the editor and himself that food supplies in the state must be grown more extensively and preserved.²⁶ The first article indicated the necessity for and suggested ways and means of guarding grain against the destruction of insects. The second discussed the value of fodder as a feed and added that, if properly treated, it would conserve other food for use by the army. The third and fourth articles showed several substitutes for materials in use and outlined new measures to meet any scarcity faced by Texans.²⁷

Later in the summer and in the early fall, Affleck continued to give valuable advice. He presented in one essay a history and method of growing the Irish potato, but advised against too heavy a dependence on it because of the dangers from a total crop failure.²⁸ In the latter

25 Louis J. Wortham, A History of Texas, 5 vols. (Fort Worth, 1924), III, 349.

26 Houston Weekly Telegraph, June 12, 22, 26, 1861.

27 For example, to replace hamp bagging, iron ties, and rope, Affleck suggested the substitution of wooden ties and cotton bagging, and doing without rope. He added some advice on the conservation of salt and suggested new sources of supply on the seacoasts of Texas. Ibid., July 3, 1861. See Ella Lonn, Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy (New York, 1933), 29-30, 31, 238, n. 39. In the same issue of the Telegraph there was a patriotic article.

28 Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 7, 1861. Affleck's interest in Irish potatoes at this time was due in part to the fact that he had on hand a good supply of seed potatoes for sale.

part of August and early September lengthy articles warned Texans of the hardships they must face unless care were taken in planting and harvesting. Affleck offered remedies for problems varying from the treatment of chills and fevers to the procuring of an adequate supply of garden seeds. Looking to the future, he insisted that the people in the South should either grow their own seeds in co-operation or procure them from Europe, where a dependable and pure supply could be found. Under no condition should they trade with Yankees again if it could be avoided.²⁹

Although Affleck was principally interested in production of food during 1861, he did not neglect to comment on military activities in his own community. Washington County was one of the first in the state to prepare itself for the conflict, and by May 7 the people of the section were considered to be on a war footing.³⁰ On June 26 Affleck reported that "Our Young men are drilling constantly; and are very impatient under the President's restriction of Texians to the defence of Texas. Still they yield to obedience, and hold themselves prepared, whenever or wherever called on. The feeling seems to be one of perfect confidence in our President, Government, and soldiers, that when a blow is struck, it will be a fearful, and effective one. May God continue

29 Ibid., August 22, September 11, October 2, 1861.

30 The county court appropriated \$15,000 for arming troops; a committee of public safety was formed, and a commission was appointed to raise twelve companies, which were to be prepared to go wherever they might be needed. The Brenham Ranger reported that the people of the county were "fully up to the spirit of the times. They will never be found wanting." Brenham Ranger quoted in Houston Weekly Telegraph, May 7, 1861. Throughout the war, there appeared to be exceptionally patriotic spirit in the county, and all reports show that there was little disloyalty and lack of co-operation except among the German population. This statement is based upon an inspection of the lists of deserters that were published in the papers during 1863 and 1864, and the lack of evidence in the newspapers concerning any disloyal movements in the county.

to bless our country."³¹ Several days later he mentioned the presentation of a flag to the La Bahia Rifles, who were encamped near his home. The speech of presentation with all its stress on patriotism was printed³² along with a letter of introduction.

Later in July, Affleck turned again to patriotic themes. A letter describing in glowing terms a school pageant at Chappell Hill was offered to the readers of the Telegraph. A cavalcade of the secession of the states of the Confederacy had been presented by the school children. South Carolina, Georgia, and the other states were taken from the Union, while Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware became outcasts among those brave states farther south.³³ In concluding, Affleck added, "In our final settlement with our Yankee, Black Republican invaders, all this waste of time and expense, and the injurious effect produced upon the growth of the country in leading them from their industrious pursuits of peaceful life, to those of camp, must be borne in mind. Let us have a full, final and satisfactory settlement before we lay down our arms."³⁴

³¹ Houston Weekly Telegraph, June 26, 1861. There were nine companies camped near Glenblythe; so he was in a position to adjudge the spirit of the men.

³² Ibid., July 3, 1861. The editor of the paper was invited to attend a camp drill in July, when there would be a full attendance of the soldiers and people of the section.

³³ Ibid., July 23, 1861.

³⁴ Ibid. Reports concerning the soldiers from Washington County and those who were stationed there continued to occupy considerable space in the paper, probably from news sent in by Affleck. The patriotism of the general citizenry was also commented upon. The stores closed in Brenham during drill periods to allow clerks to attend. See ibid., July 31, August 14, September 11, 1861. In late September, 1861, a public meeting at Washington passed resolutions to the effect that the people of the county would not sell cotton to any country that had not recognized the Confederacy. Warning was made that most of the cotton being sold in Mexico was going into the hands of the "Black Republicans." Ibid., October 2, 1861.

Only at rare intervals after 1861 did Affleck find time to write for publication. Occasionally some incident prompted a letter from his pen, and now and then he emphasized the needs of the country. In April, 1862, he called attention to the great service surgeons and doctors rendered to the South. His belief was that regardless of the capabilities³⁵ of the practitioner, he had a place in the army, and should be honored. After the recapture of Galveston in December, 1862, Affleck took the opportunity to honor those brave men who had accomplished the deed, and he proposed that a fund be collected for the widows and orphans of men who had died in the attack. In closing he added that "some of us must stay at home--that is inevitable--and but a small proportion of those who do so, are the extortioners and leeches that some of your correspondents would make out. But we must all do our share, in every way in³⁶ our power, towards the good cause; or we are justly open to blame." Later in 1864 and 1865, letters appeared from Affleck offering practical³⁷ advice and at times mild criticism of, the government and its agencies.

Affleck rendered indirectly another most important service to the people of Texas through the newspapers. At regular intervals from 1862 to the end of the war, excerpts from his Almanac were printed in the Galveston News and the Houston Telegraph. Doubtless the information served

³⁵ Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, April 11, 1862.

³⁶ Ibid., January 7, 1863.

³⁵ Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, April 11, 1862. 365;

³⁶ Ibid., January 7, 1863. 11v

³⁷ Ibid., December 29, 1863; January 9, March 8, 1864; March 25, 1865; Houston Weekly Telegraph, January 9, 1864; March 25, 1865; Houston Daily Telegraph, March 11, 1864; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, March 24, 1865.

a purpose in reminding a war-weary people to plant the necessary food
at the proper time for those at home and on the battlefield.³⁸

The records concerning Affleck's personal career during the Civil War are meager. He was busy trying to make a living and kept few personal records. It is possible, however, to indicate some of the difficulties that confronted him, and to note the services he rendered to his family and to the "Cause."

The most important problems that faced Affleck during the conflict were not caused by the war but were the outgrowth of earlier circumstances. He had not been able to establish himself sufficiently on his new plantation to make it a profitable enterprise. Although he had a very large slave labor supply,³⁹ there was not sufficient farm work to occupy them, and they were not qualified to do skilled tasks. Consequently, much of Affleck's energy had to be used to continue to build up his plantation and to support his family and unskilled Negroes. In these efforts, he appears to have been reasonably successful during the early years of the war.⁴⁰

³⁸ See Galveston News, March 10, 1862, et seq.; Houston Telegraph, December 12, 1862, et seq. These notices began later in the Telegraph because Affleck was corresponding at times with this paper.

³⁹ In 1861 Affleck had under his control 108 slaves, including 24 of his own and 84 who were the property of his sons. A large proportion of these hands appear to have been unproductive. See Affleck to Enrolling Officer for Washington County, October 17, 1864.

⁴⁰ The expensiveness of Affleck's establishment may be indicated by the cost of feed for the livestock for the two months of January and February, 1861. At least \$628.46 was spent for this purpose. Account Book, 1859-1874, p. 37. The cost of medical care for 1861 was \$497.23. Ibid., 46-47.

Until the later part of 1863, if one judges from the limited evidence, Affleck's business arrangements and management of the plantation seem to have been carried on much as if there were no war in progress.⁴¹ During 1862 several agreements show that he was not being greatly affected by the war.⁴² In the early part of 1863 the following reply made by Dunbar in the army to his family indicates that there was no great hardship nor lack of enthusiasm at Glenblythe. "I was glad to learn that you were all well at home and that there was no sickness amongst the negroes. I know that they are a great deal of trouble when they are sick now that you have no doctor."⁴³ I am glad too to know that you are getting on so well with the Gov. work that you have contracted for, and that you have meat enough to last this year. I am glad to learn also that you have fine prospects for good crops this year."⁴⁴

By 1862 Affleck was taking a leading part in various types of social work, which he was to continue to the end of the war. He was particularly interested in seeing that the Texas troops, among whom was

⁴¹ His crops were not large as indicated from the extant reports, but this was not caused by the war. In 1861 there appear to have been about 400 acres planted in crops, of which 150 acres were in corn. Affleck to Dunbar, March 15, 1861.

⁴² In May, 1862, he traded for a cotton gin and a stallion and bought lands to expand his cotton acreage further. Affleck to Joseph Gardner, April 17, 1862; *id.* to A. Y. Walton, April 18, 1862; *id.* to A. S. Walton, April 22, 1862; *id.* to James Sorley, May 22, 1862.

⁴³ I. W. Gulick, who had been their doctor, had joined the army. Affleck to Gulick, March 31, 1862. Dunbar joined the army in 1862. *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Dunbar to Mother and Father, March 5, 1863.

Dunbar, received all the supplies that it was possible for them to procure. He helped to get men to take supplies of food, clothing, and money to the Texas Rangers, and publicized through the papers the needs of the men in the ranks. There were donations to charitable funds, arrangements for care of soldiers' Negroes, contracts for keeping stock on shares, and other valuable services.⁴⁵

The sawmill and shops that Affleck had established were largely unprofitable in 1861.⁴⁶ With wartime needs, however, there were high hopes of an increased demand and a profitable return from the products of his plantation and mills. In explaining his first contract with the government, he indicated his expectations. He pointed out that he was to make ambulances and wagons for the troops in Texas at as low price as they could be procured anywhere, but that this would allow considerable profit because of his superior facilities.⁴⁷ He hoped to furnish food and incidental supplies to the troops stationed nearby and to make from these contracts enough money to enter upon wagon and ambulance manufacturing, from which larger profits would be possible.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 29, October 1, November 24, 1862; Galveston Daily News, November 4, 1862. See also, Affleck to Gulick, March 31, 1862; Id. to A. S. Walton, April 18, 1862.

⁴⁶ Affleck had kept the sawmill running during 1861, largely to cut lumber for his own use. Affleck to Dunbar, March 15, April 24, 1861.

⁴⁷ Id. to Sorley, May 22, 1862.

⁴⁸ On May 22, Affleck wrote to James Sorley of Galveston, seeking a loan. He explained that "Genl. Waul, will camp his legion two miles from us; and I can furnish him with his commissary & qr. master supplies to a great extent, with Mr. Wm. B. for assistance, he being interested in the operations with me. But, unless I make a start in wagon making...I fear we would be hampered throughout. And if we can make a go into it, I know there is money in it." Affleck to Sorley, May 22, 1862. See also, Felgar, "Texas in the War," 408.

The extant records concerning Affleck's actual contracts with the Confederate army are some individual entries in what seems to have been a memorandum book. From these, it is learned that the initial preparation for building wagons and ambulances was started on May 1, 1862,⁴⁹ and that during the same month troops encamped near his home were furnished with quartermaster and commissary supplies.⁵⁰ He also sold such produce as hay and vinegar from his plantation to the troops located at some distance from Glenblythe.⁵¹

From the beginning, Affleck was able to make sufficient profits from the supplies furnished the troops to purchase wagon materials, to pay for necessary skilled labor, and partially to support the plantation.⁵² Although Affleck must have received considerable

49 Some indication of the work that Affleck planned to do can be surmised from scattering figures in an account book that was kept irregularly during the war period. His purchases during May for wagon supplies amounted to at least \$3,129.96. In September two entries show that he spent at least \$679.05. Account Book, 1859-1874, pp. 52, 64. There are numerous items entered in the Account Book which appear to have been connected with the wagon manufacturing that amount to several hundred dollars more, but it is impossible to know what items were directly chargeable to this enterprise except the amount stated above. *Ibid.*, 53 ff.

50 An entry in *ibid.*, 52, shows that during May Affleck sold to Captain E. C. Wharton supplies amounting to \$2,435, which included 1 tent, 1 forge, 2 wagons, 12 mules, 2 fifth chains, 2 sets of double-trees, 10 barrels of corn, and 2 large cedar chests. In July, Affleck sold to Maul's Legion \$2,537.32 in supplies. Of this amount at least \$1,400 was for meat, which Affleck butchered and sold personally, on shares, or in partnership with others. There are other entries showing that he sold a large additional amount of meat to the troops, but the buyer is not always indicated. *Ibid.*, 94-95 ff.

51 *Ibid.*, 52, 53.

52 Affleck received \$3,900 for six wagons at \$275 and six ambulances at \$375 sold to the government during September, 1862. He also received various sums of money at other times for work in his blacksmith shop or sawmill. As long as the money of the Confederacy was of value, the records indicate that he was receiving a good profit for his work. *Ibid.*, 51 ff.

profits from his work during 1862 and 1863,⁵³ he later found that the costs of labor⁵⁴ and material⁵⁵ were so great and the value of the money paid by the Confederate government so low that he could not afford to execute his previous plans. Impressment of materials by the government at arbitrary prices made it unwise to manufacture wagons unless consent were gained to sell them to civilians.⁵⁶ Thus, although Affleck did not realize the profits he had expected from his contracts with the government, this work helped him to operate his plantation without the great hardships faced by many others.

Affleck's greatest profits were derived from the business of furnishing the armies in his community with neat supplies. There is no clear picture of how he managed this work. It appears that he not only

53 *Ibid.* A clear conclusion as to the amount he was receiving cannot be made from the available records. For indications that Affleck was satisfied with the results, see, Dunbar to Mother and Father, March 5, 1863. For a contrary report, see, for example, Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, July 13, September 23, 1864, which give resumes of the troubles faced because of the worthlessness of money and government restrictions. See also, Affleck to Dunbar, July 18, 1864.

54 It was necessary to pay at least \$2.10 per day for skilled labor from the beginning. On September 3, 1862, Affleck paid out \$643.94 in wages for less than a month and a half of work to men detailed to him from the army. Account Book, 1859-1874, p. 64. This did not include the overseer, who received \$600 per year in specie value, and the Negro help, some of which were hired at \$1.50 per day specie. *Ibid.*, 49, et passim. There was considerable difficulty after the summer of 1863 in getting details of skilled laborers from the army. Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 25, 1863.

55 Material became practically impossible to procure after the summer of 1863 and then only at prices based on specie. Account Book, 1859-1874, pp. 100 ff.

56 Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, July 13, 1864. She wrote that the price paid for the ambulances by the government would not pay for the paint and trimmings. The government paid \$1,500 in Confederate notes. *Ibid.* See also, Felgar, "Texas in the War," 275-77; War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XV, 866, 952; Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 393. Cited hereafter as Official Records.

sold many of his own livestock, but that he also contracted with various persons to butcher their animals, either for a share of the profit or for the offal which could be used by his slaves or for sale to other planters for a similar purpose.⁵⁷ However, Affleck noted in his Account Book in April, 1863, that the contracts that he had made heretofore for butchering and curing meat for the "usual" offal were unprofitable. At times there was considerable loss from unfavorable weather. Nevertheless, the records indicate that his profits were of much importance in his plantation economy.⁵⁸

As has been indicated, the legal restrictions of the Confederacy made it more difficult as time went on for Affleck to continue his work for the government. After 1863 he came into conflict with enough official regulations to realize that he would be unable to

⁵⁷ During July and August, Affleck sold to the troops \$2,147.40 worth of meat. He lists the animals killed as if they were purchases, but he also wrote that he was butchering some of them for William Herndon. Herndon was in the army. Account Book, 1859-1874, pp. 67-69.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 68-69; a notation shows the arrangements under the butchering contracts: "During the last week of January, I killed for Messrs. Carroll, Wilkinson & Storm of Burleson Co, 260 head of Hogs--taking offal & head & feet (not the jowls) for killing--And cut up, cured & smoked the meat, for the bones & sausage meat, & one half of whatever the bacon brought (including lard) to aggregate the value of hogs at 20¢ head; they furnished the salt. 6 head of the hogs were sold at 20¢ delivered without being cut up. The offal fed all hands about six weeks. The Sausage meat, made up, sold for \$100. The entrail lard altogether was not over 1 bbl." Affleck then listed the cause for the loss of much of the pork as principally the bad weather. Much of the meat tainted, but it "might do for use on the plantation, but not merchantable"; some was "badly tainted; but much of it could do for plant. use." As a conclusion he noted that "It will not pay to kill hogs for the usual offal." He purchased at this time 6,325 pounds of tainted meat for use on his plantation. *Ibid.*, 69. He also bought tainted meat directly from the army. Affleck to James Sorley, May 22, 1862.

make a profitable return on his investment and labor. He had several ambulances and wagons made during the period following 1863, but, except in cases where he had received special permission to sell them to individuals, he expressed dissatisfaction with the returns.⁵⁹

In the latter part of 1863 Affleck found it necessary to look toward Mexican trade to meet his wartime needs. In September he made a journey to Brownsville, Texas, to get supplies and specie from the sale of cotton in Mexico. During the trip of over two months, he underwent almost unbearable hardships.⁶⁰ Before leaving on the journey Affleck made agreements with neighbors to carry their cotton to the market and to purchase supplies for them in return for half the proceeds from sales of the cotton.⁶¹ Confederate money was so cheap in

⁵⁹ See Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, September 23, 1864.

⁶⁰ Affleck left about September 21 and did not get back until well in December. See letters of Affleck to wife, September 26 to October 25, 1863. At the time that he wrote the last extant letter on October 25, he said he had at least twenty-five days ahead on the return trip.

⁶¹ Account Book, 1859-1874, pp. 95-98. Because of the provisions of the Act of March 26, 1863, concerning speculators, and the interpretation given to it by General Kirby-Smith, that cotton of planters who must buy a reasonable amount of supplies was to be exempt, Affleck had Dr. John C. Inge appear before a notary in Branham and swear that the trip was for the purpose of getting supplies necessary for his plantation and not for speculation. Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 100-101, 137-39. The notarized document states that Inge appeared before the clerk and "upon oath says that he is personally acquainted with Thomas Affleck and is living with him and that of my own knowledge I know that he has control with those in his own right, & others of over one hundred and sixty negroes, deponent says that the said Affleck proposes to transport thirty Bales of Cotton to Brownsville for the purpose of purchasing Supplies for the Benefit [sic] of said negroes & for those of his family, said cotton will be transported on six wagons, mule teams which belongs to said Thomas Affleck, and deponent further states that said supplies are for the sole use and Benefit of his said family & negroes, and not for Barter Exchange and Speculation." Notarized Statement, dated September 21, 1863. As Affleck made purchases and sold cotton for others for a share of the returns, the deposition was not wholly accurate. For a discussion of the impressment problems in Texas, see Felgar, "Texas in the War," 247 ff.

Mexico that a buyer had to sell cotton or some other product in that country for gold in order to purchase supplies.⁶² Although the gold prices paid by Affleck do not appear to have been unreasonable unless considered in terms of Confederate money, he complained bitterly of the high prices charged.⁶³ The most expensive item listed was medicine--quinine was \$3.50 an ounce. The invoices included in each case large amounts for medicines. Other expensive items listed were cloth and other materials for making apparel, and luxuries such as liquor, cigars, and French hats. The cotton brought twenty-seven and twenty-eight cents per pound net, including expenses for getting it across the river to Matamoras.⁶⁴ It was necessary to pay 4-1/8 per cent more for duties, drayage, and ferrriage on the Mexican purchases.⁶⁵ The profits from such a trip were undoubtedly small.

Although Affleck's plantation management was not too greatly disturbed during the first years of the war, the problem of providing food and clothing for the large number of Negroes under his control was certainly a drain on his resources. The procurement of supplies

⁶² Confederate money at this time was at least one to ten and practically unacceptable in Mexico. Affleck to wife, September 26, 1863. Louisiana notes, however, brought 60 per cent of face value. *Ibid.*

⁶³ For example the prices of various products in the invoices that Affleck kept of the purchased goods include: Linen, 50¢ a yd.; luster, 50¢ a yd.; brown shirting, 35¢ a yd.; bleached shirting, 18¢ a yd.... calico, 30¢ a yd.; ladies hose, 50¢ a pair; tooth brushes, 50¢ each; Confederate cloth, \$1.75 a yd.; spools of thread, \$1.00 per dozen; blankets, \$5.00 each; letter paper, \$3.50 a ream; dress boots, \$9.00 a pair; Windsor soap, \$1.50 a dozen bars; hair brushes, 50¢ each; shirts, \$3.00 each. Account Book, 1859-1874, pp. 95-99.

⁶⁴ Affleck to wife, October 10, 1863.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; Account Book, 1859-1874, p. 99.

under ordinary circumstances would have been difficult, but during wartime the problems were greatly multiplied. There is little indication, however, that he did not make satisfactory arrangements.⁶⁶ As he was able to carry on experimentation on the plantation and grow nonrevenue-producing crops, he was probably not vitally concerned about the problems of provisioning.⁶⁷

Although Affleck's criticisms were usually expressed in private correspondence, at times he complained mildly in public about the injustice and inefficiency of the army and government. One of the few letters that he wrote for the newspapers during the latter part of the war shows his attitude concerning the difficulties which faced the people. "It is our duty, we who are thus safe, in the interior, to offer to our less fortunate brethren of the sea board counties every aid and assistance in our power. To exact of them high prices for anything, would be disgraceful in the extreme. It is our duty, even though a large portion of our teams and negro men be impressed; and yet more, even in cases of the greatest individual injustice...to do the best we can with what may be left. Plant every acre in grain

⁶⁶ In September 1863 Affleck was reported to have under his charge 160 Negroes. Notarized Statement, September 21, 1863; Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, July 13, 1864. Dunbar wrote from Mississippi in 1863 that the slaves "left you by Grandpa were awaiting your orders." Dunbar to Mother and Father, May 12, 1863. Some of the 160 may have been these slaves, but most of the extra ones were those left under the charge of Affleck by neighbors or those hired by Affleck. See Account Book, 1859-1874, pp. 52 ff.; Statement to Enrolling Officer of Washington County, October 17, 1864.

⁶⁷ For an item on experimentation, see Gideon Lincoln to Affleck, August 7, 1864, in Affleck Papers, in possession of T. D. Affleck, Galveston, Texas.

that can be put in in time. Let us do this first and grumble afterwards."⁶⁸ Later in 1864, with the growing difficulties occasioned by the wartime economy, he seemed more conscious of the inevitable injustices. Impressment had particularly interfered with his plans, and the demands of the government became heavier during the last year of the war.⁶⁹ He felt that many officers, both military and civil, did not understand sufficiently the problems of the average citizens. In general, his complaints were few, and he accepted his lot without serious protest. In no case did he express a hint of disloyalty to the cause.⁷⁰

By July, 1864, Affleck's household was faced with more serious problems in attempting to supply needed supplies for the plantation.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, January 9, 1864.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the inequality of the effects of impressment, see Felgar, "Texas in the War," 276-99. Felgar is more interested in the regulations per se than in the effect on the individual.

⁷⁰ Affleck and his wife's attitude is shown in their connection with the case of the Texas Unionist, Dr. R. R. Peebles, who was a kinsman of Mrs. Affleck. This case probably attracted more attention than any other in the state because of the prominence of the principal and because of the difficulties he provoked. Mrs. Affleck and her husband did all they could to help the man and his family, but they did not sympathize with the Doctor's point of view. See R. R. Peebles to his wife, April 13, 1864, in Peebles Papers (University of Texas Department of Archives). After having tried her best to help her kinsman through her influence with General Magruder, who was also kin to Mrs. Affleck, she wrote the following to Dunbar: "Dr. Peebles has not yet been sent away--but will I understand be sent with an escort of 300 men to Mexico, he will be accompanied by two of his children--Maggie & Johnnie--he did not wish to be sent to the Yanks--but -- I fear he will not be prudent even in Mexico....The girls are making themselves noticed by saying too much--about 'The Authorities treating their father so unjustly etc.' but he will recant nothing, & is, if anything more bitter than ever. Indeed I think the authorities are lenient--the 'mob' tried to take & hang them at Anderson--which the military prevented." Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, July 20, 1864.

⁷¹ Dunbar's letters are filled with requests for supplies. Dunbar to Mother and Father, April 22, 1862, at Laq.

Salt was an expensive necessity, for not only must he pay high prices for the product, but he must also haul it from a distance. Furthermore, there was the need to procure governmental permission to use the teams and men necessary for the transportation because of a ruling by General E. Kirby Smith that half the teams used in inland commerce were subject to impressment. Permission was granted to Affleck, but the difficulty of the trips and the scarcity of salt prevented him from obtaining a very plentiful supply.⁷² He also had considerable difficulty in securing cloth, especially the rough variety for the Negroes, and after several attempts to obtain it from the penitentiary, allowed Glenblythe to rely chiefly on home manufacture.⁷³

Taxation and the demands of a son in the army complicated the problems of the Afflecks. To provide for these needs it was necessary to have money, which, particularly as specie, was more difficult to procure than provisions. In almost every letter to Dunbar from his parents

⁷² Affleck to General E. Kirby Smith, July 16, 1864. Affleck wrote that he "was desirous of sending teams to Van Zandt Co. for salt; & under the recent order to impress one half of the teams engaged in inland commerce, I fear to send them from home." He added that "it would be well, permit me to suggest, to exempt by order, planters teams going for and returning with Salt. There is often a great absence of proper discrimination on the part of impressing officers." Ibid. See Felgar, "Texas in the War," 246, 249, 276-80. Affleck wrote in October that there was great difficulty in getting necessities for Glenblythe. "I start teams in the morning to the coast for Salt; hauling Cotton for Compton, to the Banquette; for \$20 per bale....I send a lot of Cooper's ware, & kits of syrup to pay expenses on the road." Affleck to Dunbar, October 2, 1864; Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, September 23, 1864. See also, Lonn, Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy, 28-29.

⁷³ Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, November 2, 1864.

there was a plea for the son to be more careful of his expenditures.⁷⁴ During 1864 Affleck obtained permission to sell some of his ambulances at private sale; the returns from these allowed him to meet some of the demands for cash.⁷⁵ Most of the money that was received was either sent to Dunbar or was used to purchase supplies that were sent to him.⁷⁶

The condition of crops at Glenblythe during the spring of 1864 did not seem promising,⁷⁷ but later there were some signs of optimism in the Affleck correspondence. On August 10 Mrs. Affleck wrote Dunbar that

74 *Id.* to *id.*, July 13, 30, August 10, September 23, October 23, 30, November 2, 1864. The letters from Affleck were not so critical of Dunbar's expenditures as were those of Mrs. Affleck. See Affleck to Dunbar, July 18, September 10, 26, October 2, November 15, December 6, 7, 1864. On July 13, 1864, Mrs. Affleck wrote Dunbar as follows: "Your Father has business of importance which has taken him to Houston this morning. We wrote you two weeks ago that the Govt. had pressed two ambulances at schedule prices--i. e. \$1500 Confederate money--not enough to pay for the trimming & painting! not to speak of the wood & iron work!--if he can get no more for them--he will be in a nice fix as they were our sole dependence for paying our heavy taxes,--money for some expenses, wages etc. & also money to send you....Your father had \$200 to pay Mr. Andrews--which took all he received for one ambulance & all I had left, to make up--leaving the house without any, though he will try to get a little in some way to send you....You do not know the difficulty we have in getting along with such a heavy expense as so many to clothe & feed & so little income from the place--it sounds quite large to say there are a hundred & sixty negroes on the place--40 of those are Mr. Andrews--& for the services of some 5 or six we have to support the ballance--for 5 or 6 are carpenters & do most of the work which had brought in any money--but if we get no more for the Ambulances--I do not know what we shall do. Say nothing of this to any one--yr father would not like you to express any feelings--toward the government for its acts even though unjust--I would enclose some Confed notes if I had them but I gave your father all I had to defray expenses etc." Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, July 13, 1864.

75 *Id.* to *id.*, October 23, November 2, 1864; Affleck to *id.*, November 15, 1864.

76 Mrs. Affleck to *id.*, November 2, 1864; Affleck to *id.*, November 15, 1864.

77 Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, May 21, July 13, 1864; Affleck to Kirby Smith, July 16, 1864.

"Your father made a beginning on our cane yesterday! he has as usual been grinding & boiling for the neighbors first!—....we had some of the finest peaches I ever saw in Tex or any where else—but not as large crop." Next year they hoped to enlarge the old orchard and at the time they were "having a great many trees budded to make new orchards."⁷⁸ There was not much promise of a cotton crop, but there would be enough of the staple to furnish the place with necessities.⁷⁹ Mrs. Affleck remarked later that "Your father & my great anxiety has been to clothe & feed so many dependents on us for everything & we feel thankful that the prospects for that are brightening—as we have nearly cloth enough to clothe comfortably & Pa thinks he can exchange his syrup for pork—that we lack of our own raising—we are using flour made from wheat grown on the place—and when the wagons return—we will have salt enough."⁸⁰ Even the hard times of 1864 did not hinder Affleck from experimentation and preparation for the future.⁸¹

From the extant evidence, there appear to have been considerable improvements at Glenblythe during 1864, despite the pressure of the times. New kettles were purchased for the syrup mills,⁸² wagons and carriages were made for home use,⁸³ a carriage house was built,⁸⁴ and the living

⁷⁸ Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, August 10, 1864.

⁷⁹ Id. to Id., September 23, 1864.

⁸⁰ Id.

⁸¹ Affleck to Gideon Lincoln, August 29, 1864, in Lincoln Papers. There were attempts to improve the types of grass and cane grown on the plantation.

⁸² Dunbar to Mrs. Affleck, May 14, 1864.

⁸³ Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, May 21, 1864.

⁸⁴ Affleck to Dunbar, October 2, 1864.

quarters of whites and blacks were made more comfortable.⁸⁵ Toward the end of the year Affleck was able to report concerning the work: "I have everything going on busily. The year is drawing to a close; when I lose Mr. Andrew's men; & am far from having made the improvements I had hoped to make. Old Daniel is busy on the Sugar Kettles, resetting them, & putting in a new one I made. Tarver's Bob & Ben are finishing the carriage-house & Grainery having it all completed, but the pigeon house in the apex at each end....Alfred & Chas. Roan will finish sowing Barley in the Calf pasture, where it was last year, by breakfast time tomorrow, running three harrows. Sewall has 6 plows in the MacPhail place, preparing wheat. Dave with the rest of the hands will finish corn gathering this week. Chas. has all but finished the immense chimney at the east end of the house; & a capitol one it is; solid, permanent & draws well, above & below. The mill is at a stand today, that unfortunate boiler needing repair again."⁸⁶ With the beginning of 1865, there seemed to be no reason why those at Glenblythe should not believe that the conflict could be carried on until victory was achieved.

In March, 1865, Glenblythe was listed in the Galveston News as a "Soldiers Home." It was necessary for Affleck to write a correction of this statement. He explained that he had always been willing and anxious to help the soldiers, but that due to his many previous sacrifices and

⁸⁵ Ibid.; Mrs. Affleck to id., November 3, 1864; Affleck to id., November 15, December 6, 1864.

⁸⁶ Id. to id., December 6, 1864. MacPhail was a neighbor, the others were slaves.

to the need of providing for his own family, he could not afford to establish a regular home for soldiers. "I can say nothing of the feeling elsewhere," he wrote, "but I am very sure that few, indeed, of the planters of Washington County, but are glad to receive the passing soldier and make him comfortable, and that without charge. Believing this, and invariably acting up to it myself, I do not wish to seem the only one who makes the matter public. As the friend of the soldier, I will always be glad to see him in passing, but cannot afford to keep a Soldier's Home, as commonly understood."⁸⁷ Other letters showed that Affleck was very willing to act most generously to help the cause, but that extraordinary expenses would unduly tax his resources.⁸⁸

On March 25 Affleck wrote the Houston Telegraph pleading for more co-operation and spirit among the Texans, but at the same time voicing one of the principal complaints of Texans in the last days of the war. "As you are aware, I have just returned from Houston, becoming alarmed for the result of prospective impressment of farmer's wagons and teams, to haul corn and forage for the supply of the great numbers of cavalry understood to be gathering in on the railroads, from all quarters; and fearing General Walker might not be advised of the unusually backward state of plowing and planting this season, I took the liberty of intruding some information on the subject. I found the General well informed, however, and fully alive to the difficulties in the way, and anxiously

⁸⁷ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, March 24, 1865.

⁸⁸ See Affleck to D. Richardson, January 9, 1865; id. to T. Twitchell, February 2, 1865.

laboring to meet them, and returned home well content that the protection of our State from the enemy, and the interests of the producing class, are in good, safe and prudent hands. But we must uphold those hands. The General urges, most anxiously, that vegetables be planted, grown and forwarded to the troops--okra, tomatoes, peas, beans, pepper, turnips, potatoes, etc. That much larger crops of forage be put in--as oats, millet, Hungarian grass, drilled corn, etc., and furnished to the army; without permitting the question of pay or profit to weigh with us, and he is right." The people of the state should be completely unselfish in their help, as the only way to protect Texas was to have a well-disciplined, well-supplied army. There were undoubtedly many individual injuries done, but these should be overlooked for the time being. In the case of slaves, for example, "We are all aware, that much of the negro labor drafted, from our plantations, is wasted, idled away and lost, by neglect and mismanagement, if nothing worse, of subordinate officers. Beyond a doubt, General Walker strives to guard against such abuses. And, it will not do for us, because we know of such instances, to hold back, when the General calls for more Negroes to do indispensable work."

Affleck's intention was to urge more patriotic efforts on the part of people of Texas, but, at the same time, to call the attention of the authorities in a subtle way to the damage that was being done by mismanagement. In April, 1865, he wrote somewhat apologetically to Major

⁸⁹ Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, March 25, 1865. See also, ibid., January 9, 1864.

General John B. Magruder offering advice concerning the policy of the government and army; he was concerned with great damage to the efficiency of plantation work caused by the impressment of teams. In case of invasion, he wrote, "You will be forced to call upon Planters who have already delivered their own tithe,⁹⁰ to haul that of theirs who have done nothing. And the work must be done altho' even the corn crop is not all yet planted & none of it has been or can be yet worked. I have found it impossible to sow the hay crops." The solution to the problem was to loan the unbroken mules that the army had recently bought in Mexico to the farmers for the necessary hauling, and to let them keep their own mules. Affleck added that he was willing to help in any possible way; for example, the army could command the use of his wheat and mill. But he felt that means should be found to keep from working too great hardships upon those who had given all they could possibly afford.⁹¹

Affleck did not realize that the armies of his state were even then in a desperate condition and that there was much indecision as to what was the best course to be taken. By May conditions in Texas had deteriorated so far and the army was so disorganized that there was no safety from the hands of Confederate soldiers located in the interior. The individual citizen had to guard his own holdings as best he could, and Affleck, among others, began to see that there must be an end to the

⁹⁰ Affleck had paid his tithes by supplying troops in his locality. Mrs. Affleck to Dunker, October 30, 1864.

⁹¹ Affleck to Magruder, April 14, 1864.

92

conflict or a complete reorganization of the armies.

As late as May 10 Affleck still hoped that the "Cause" could be saved, at least insofar as Texas was concerned. He wrote to a businessman in San Antonio that he had "Had a long talk with Genl. Magruder, in Houston. Found him defiant as ever. But prudent and cautious with-all. He fears that want of food, supplies &c. has compelled our coming to terms, for the present, on the other side of the Miss. But still hopes not. At all events, he is confident of securing our own terms here, if not holding out until the other side rallies under the inevitable oppression there, by our maintaining bold armed forces here. All depends upon our keeping the men in the field & under discipline; which he still hopes to do." ⁹³ Affleck continued to work and to plan as if there were to be no change in the existing conditions except for the better. He appealed for an extension of time for a detail of men that had been helping at his sawmill; he ordered more supplies for Dunbar; he tried to get more equipment for the sawmill and boiler; he offered the services of his flour mill and smutting machine for the army and for private needs. ⁹⁴ But on May 12 Affleck had to report that "I find growing restlessness amongst the people, as ⁹⁵ the news comes confirmed of the surrender of Johnston & Beauregard."

⁹² See *ibid.*; *id.* to Dr. Read, May 10, 1865.

⁹³ *Id.* to Charles Power, May 10, 1865. See also, *id.* to M. B. Grady, May 10, 1865.

⁹⁴ *Id.* to Captain Turner, Acting Adjutant General, Houston, May 12, 1865; *id.* to Magruder, May 12, 1865; *id.* to James Cushman, May 12, 1865.

⁹⁵ *Id.* to Captain Turner, May 12, 1865.

He was aware that the end was near, for he had received word from Magruder that the latter was planning to send a trunk to Glenblythe for safekeeping. Affleck seemed unwilling, however, to believe that all that his country had worked and fought for was to be ended like this.⁹⁶ Texas and the Afflecks had not experienced enough of the war to understand that it was lost.

The people of Texas finally were forced to realize that the Confederacy had been defeated. There was some talk of continuing the fight for the independence of the state,⁹⁷ but by the middle of May the disbandment of soldiers had ended the hopes of the most sanguine. Now the principal problem was to protect property from the Confederate troops. Affleck, like many others, had to use every means possible to keep his own property from being stolen or destroyed. Articles that he had recently ordered from San Antonio were an especial worry.⁹⁸

The story of the breakup of the army in Texas before General Kirby Smith had finally ordered disbandment is shown in the following letter. It was written by Affleck on March 23, seven days before the General accepted the fact that the soldiers in Texas could no longer be depended upon to fight. "The news brought by Capt. McNelly last night, from

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*; *id.* to Magruder, May 12, 1865.

⁹⁷ *Galveston Tri-Weekly News*, May 1, 1865 ff.; Felgar, "Texas in the War," 512.

⁹⁸ Affleck to Dr. Read, May 10, 1865; *id.* to Mr. Taylor, May 10, 1865; *id.* to A. J. R'ce, May 10, 1865; *id.* to Charles Power, May 10, 1865; Felgar, "Texas in the War," 512.

Hempstead. & Houston, determines me to offer 16 head of mules I bought of you. As things are I will propose no terms nor prices. I have not examined them myself; but the Negroes say out of the 20 mules on the place & on road between & San Antonio [sic] 24 are of those I got of you. The rest dead. One is badly lamed, & I think will lose its hoof. The 4 that Alfred has, on his way from San Antonio are gone--taken by the soldiery, beyond hope. Tho' Dunbar has gone alone, to meet him. And now I fear for him. That will leave me 12 mules, & one of these disabled. I, too, must run. We cannot stay here. Towards the price of the mules I kept, I will let you have a wagon, & anything else I can possibly spare.

"I dare not send them to you, without armed protection. And I cannot leave Mrs. A. Send Lieut: Sparks, well armed, this morn'g., & I will send negroes to drive them.

"The army has entirely disbanded, & are sacking as they go. Houston cannot escape. Capt. McN.'s Co. was ordered to disband itself. Genl. Preston passed thro' Brenham, en route to Mexico last night. Genl. Smith & Buckner were at Crockett en route. Genl. Magruder leaves Houston tomorrow. Genl. Walder's own men stole or took by force, everything he had but his own arms, leaving him without transportation or aught else; in the prairie, with his wife & 3 children! Capt. McN. (& a noble fellow he is) is resolved to gather enough of his men to take a part of the stolen C. S. mules from the soldiery to carry Gen. W. to the Rio Grande, &, as his commander escort him there.

"Preadt. Davis had run the Blockade from the coast of Florida. We have no Gov. or country, God help us!

"The enemy is fully apprised of all; & take possession on Thurs-
day.

99

"I write in too great haste to say more."

99 Affleck to John Andrews, May 23, 1865; Felgar, "Texas in the War,"
512. See also, Charles W. Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas (New York,
1910), 32-38.

IX

WAR'S AFTERMATH

General Gordon Granger arrived in Galveston with his forces on June 19, 1865, to assume command in the state upon orders of General Philip Sheridan. The end of the war and the problems that faced Texans were at last made clear. Instructions were issued declaring that all slaves were free by proclamation of the President, that the actions of the government of the state since secession were void, and that all public property of the late Confederacy should be turned over to the Federal officers. The troops of occupation began immediately to move into the interior to take control, only to find¹ that the destruction by former Confederate soldiers had preceded them. For a time, because of the difficulty in assuming control and the insufficiency of the forces, the problem of the Negroes was given little attention by the military commanders.

As Affleck and many other planters had no property that was immediately liable to seizure, and as they had little present interest in the governmental problems that did not directly affect them, they turned their attention to the immediate consequences of emancipation and to the future of the plantations. As soon as possible, on June 23,² Affleck took the Amnesty Oath and attempted to arrange his plantation

¹ Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 39-40; George W. Tyler, The History of Bell County (San Antonio, 1936), 246-47.

² The official document is in the Affleck Papers. The oath was administered to Affleck although properly he should not have been allowed to take it because of the \$20,000 exception. See Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 46-47.

organization so that he could continue the crop already under way.

Most planters in Texas, despite the realization that the institution of slavery must undergo changes, believed it impossible to change the Negroes' status materially. The newspapers of the state were almost unanimous in advising former slaveholders to retain their Negroes to prevent them from becoming demoralized by vagrancy. The Houston Telegraph, the paper with which Affleck had been most closely connected, reported at first that although emancipation was certain, the final solution of the Negro problem would be a system of forced labor. Under such a system the Negro would be controlled by police regulations which would keep him in a subservient position in society but would at the same time protect him from injustice.³

Most former Confederates in the state agreed that the Negroes must be controlled by some authority, but expressed the belief that this power belonged to their former masters by law, right, and precedent. Because they felt that the emancipation proclamation was unconstitutional and that three fourths of the states could not possibly be persuaded to ratify a constitutional amendment necessary to free the slaves, they believed there would be a return to the old system in fact if not in name. The conquerors would come to realize that the only practical means of restoring the prosperity of the whole country was to let the South work out its own labor problem. Let the Negroes return to the masters, who

³ Affleck to Cushing, July 24, 1865; Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 46-47.

would control them and protect them, and the return of prosperity to the section so important to the whole country would be hastened. The Negroes, it was agreed were not only unsuited for a life of freedom, but were the only race capable of working in the bottom lands of the South.⁴ "The life-long prejudices of the Southerner," Ramsdell wrote, "conspired with the exigencies of the situation to lead him into a policy which, certain to be distorted in reports given to the North, was in its reaction to force upon him the very things he would have feared most—his own disfranchisement and negro domination."⁵

As long as the Federal army officials were in control of the labor situation of the state, the hopes of the planters seemed destined to be fulfilled. On the whole their orders met with the approval of the former masters.⁶ The Negroes were to return to their tasks on the plantations, make contracts with their former owners, and expect little aid from the government for food and clothing. Contracts were to be arranged between the freedmen and the planters without outside supervision. As Professor Ramsdell has observed, military authorities should have made

⁴ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 22, 23, 26, 28, July 3, 5, 10, 12, 1866; Clarksville Standard, July 15, 22, 1866.

⁵ Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 47-48.

⁶ G. W. Clark, formerly commanding officer of the Thirty-fourth Iowa and then attached to the expeditionary forces in Texas, issued orders to the effect that the Negroes must be patient and industrious and stay with their former owners for the time being. Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 23, 1865; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. II, 261.

in the beginning some definite rules to be followed by the planters in making contracts. Still there was no tendency on the part of former masters to co-operate with the army officials, and military regulations could have been as deeply resented as were those of the Freedmen's Bureau at a later date. In any case, there were many indications that the freedmen would be treated kindly by most farmers who used their labor, though⁷ no insolence would be tolerated.

James Sorley, a friend of Affleck and a leading citizen of the state, reported through the columns of the Galveston News, June 28, 1865, that the Negroes were to be required to meet contracts. Texans should go to⁸ work and make the best of the situation. Affleck agreed at first with Sorley, and began to make what he considered proper and just arrangements with his former slaves so that they could continue their work.

The agreement that Affleck offered to the Negroes on his plantation⁹ was not unusual. It showed the attitude of most Texas planters toward the blacks. The proposed agreement contained a declaration of views concerning the freeing of the slaves which showed that the President's action was not accepted without reservation. There would be little change from the status of slavery as it had been practiced on the Affleck plantation, except that there would be less direct control of the laborers

⁷ Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 48-49; Clarksville Standard, July 15, 1865; Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, June 28, 30, August 11, 1865; Affleck to Alexander Hannay, July 14, 1865.

⁸ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 28, 1865.

⁹ Clarksville Standard, July 15, 1865; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 27, 1865.

and comparatively less responsibility on the employer's part for their welfare. The Negro would have a fair share in the crops and would be allowed a voice in choosing his immediate supervisor. Although Affleck,

10 Here follows the extant part of the agreement:

Washington County, To [was]
1st July, 1865

The Pr[esident] of the United States has by his proclamation, declared my slaves to be free--defending the unconstitutional act under [the] plea of being a War measure--[I] feel compelled, in order to continue my Na[egroes] under my protection, & to hold them to [torn] that they may promote the interests of themselves, their employer and the commonwealth [torn] a contract with them, as follows [I]

In consideration of their pledge [torn] to continue to work for me, though [torn] & greater fidelity and industry, from this date until the 31st day of December 1866, or for [18] months from this date; to continue [torn] to the same rules & discipline; to entertain [no] harbor no strange negroes upon the property without my special & direct consent; to recognize the bringing liquor on the place, or the [use of] it off the place, as a gross & punishable offense, that they obey & submit to the authority of [a] Foreman--in whose appointment they shall [have] a voice; and other wise to conduct themselves as I have required in times past,

I pledge and bind myself to these present [I]

1st. To continue to supply all, old and young with the usual plantation rations of [bread?] & meat; distributing the rations once a week;

2nd. To furnish them with the material for one suit each of winter & summer clothing [torn] all; & one pair of shoes to all over ten years of age.

3rd. To [give] the same degree of attention [to] care [to them] as usual, supplying [them] with the necessary medicines &c. But [if] it be necessary to call in a physician, and from my judgment of the necessity of a case, or from suspicion of shamming sickness, the patient or the parent will be charged with the physician's fee.

4th. I agree to pay over to all of [torn] the place, who are fairly [torn] work of the plantation, [torn] rinders, hostlers, foreman, [torn] nurses &c.; but not including house-servants or those employed in & about the mill--one-fourth of the nett proceeds of the cotton made & to give them one-fourth of the Syrup made including the children in the division of the syrup.

5th. The Negroes shall have no claim whatever upon the other crops nor upon the other stock [upon] the place.

6th. At the close of the year, the share due to [have been] in my opinion earned by each labourer of the one-fourth of the nett proceeds of [the] cotton crop of that year, shall be fairly & justly calculated by myself, after consulting with three experienced hands selected by [the] negroes to themselves; an increased allowance being made to Foremen, Mechanics, &c.

7th. House-servants, hands in & about the [torn] teamsters not employed on the place or on the crop, will be paid wages proportionate [torn] rest missing/.

like most other kind masters, believed that he would have no difficulty with his former slaves, he was convinced from the beginning¹¹ that they would not do enough work. He also felt that it would be impossible to reconstruct the South with an undependable labor supply.

What then was to be the solution? Immigration of white labor from Europe was the answer to the South's problems. Affleck became convinced of this soon after he realized that slavery was no longer¹² existent. In a letter of July 14, 1865, he wrote to his uncle in Scotland picturing the dangerous situation in the state and presenting his plan for a remedy.¹³ Although he would be guided by events, he had no illusions concerning the future of the Negro. Meanwhile, provisions must be made to guard against complete disaster. "We are in a terrible condition. Everything is quiet & orderly. All goes on, apparently, as usual. But, the negro, as a freeman, will not work if he can help it. We do not expect to be, much longer permitted to enforce any authority over them. Already they have, in some instances attempted rebellion & insolence; their instant death being the result.

¹¹ Affleck to Hannay, July 14, 1865.

¹² Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 26, July 3, 5, 12, 1865. Random remarks had appeared in the Galveston News before Affleck had fully conceived his plan. The success of the Bureau of Immigration in attracting immigrants to the North was mentioned and the value of various races as laborers was compared. Coolies were at first given favorable notice as a future supply of labor.

¹³ Affleck to Hannay, July 14, 1865.

Poor creatures, I do not blame them. But still, they must be kept in their places. I have not had, nor do I expect to have any difficulty in controlling my people. At same time, I am well satisfied, from even present results, that I can no longer make them even maintain themselves. And that alone, you know, would not do. I will keep them together for this year; I will try what can be done, with the authorities, in the way of a contract with my people, on very liberal terms, for a term of five years; but do not believe they will permit it. Yankee-like they will not give up their assured right to (the right of might) to interfere [sic] between me & the negroes at all times; and that, after a contract is made, I will not tolerate." ¹⁴

He was resolved in the event of being compelled to abandon his "plans for holding them together & employing them to advantage, to pass them all, except a few house-servants, into the hands of the military authorities; cross at once over to Scotland, & offer such terms to Colonists; as will induce enough of the most intelligent of the Cottar class, to accompany me hither." Although he would allow the authorities and the Negroes the opportunity of proving that he was mistaken, he was resolved ¹⁵ to "move in the matter" and induce several other planters to join him.

¹⁴ Ibid. Affleck's experience with the Negroes appears to have been typical. His attitude toward the Federal control was also similar to that of most former slaveholders of the state. Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 70-76.

¹⁵ Affleck to Hannay, July 14, 1865. See also Galveston Tri-Weekly News, August 11, 1865, for Affleck's plan as he later presented it. The fundamental idea remained the same but other developments and enterprises were included.

In July, 1865, Affleck came to a parting of the ways with Cushing, editor of the Houston Telegraph. There was never a re-establishment of close friendship as long as Cushing remained with the paper, although in retrospect it appears that the editor was wiser than Affleck. The cause of this break shows clearly the view of the slaveholder who was becoming more disgusted with the Federal control.¹⁶ Those who advocated the more moderate view of trying to co-operate with the new authorities were severely criticised for their seeming lack of principle. Most of the former Confederates appeared to believe that it was as bad to co-operate with the military authorities who were in the state as it would have been to be disloyal during the war.

The provisional governor, A. J. Hamilton, arrived in Galveston on July 21, 1865, and was welcomed there by a group of Unionists who had been outspoken against the military authorities for allowing former Confederates to have considerable freedom of action. Since Hamilton had been an active Unionist during the war, the rebels of the state were much concerned when he was placed in control of the government. This development, combined with the fact that the Negroes had become more obstreperous, led Affleck and other planters to criticise sharply those who favored the new political system.¹⁷

On July 20 a speech had been delivered by General Christopher C. Andrews at Brenham. It appears to have been a talk designed to encourage

¹⁶ Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 70 ff.

¹⁷ Ibid., 55.

the planters and the Negroes to arrange their affairs and settle their difficulties. His advice to the Negroes was that they should go to work and make a crop for the coming year.¹⁸ But the blacks seem to have misunderstood the speech and by the time it had been spread over the country by the "grapevine," there was an altogether different meaning put into the speaker's words. Affleck reported that "Our negroes are in a terrible stew. The speech of Genl. Andrews has put them so. Whether they understood him or not, I cannot say. And it is useless to reason with them. From present prospects, I shall ship the whole of them by Monday morning; or a great portion of them."¹⁹ But the Houston Telegraph reported that "On the whole we are given to understand that the visit of Gen. Andrews to the county seat of the wealthiest planting county in the State was satisfactory to all parties and productive of much good."²⁰ As Affleck had not heard the speech, it is probable that he believed that its purpose was to stir up the Negroes. At any rate, on July 24 he wrote to Cushing criticizing his editorials, especially one particularly obnoxious article.

Affleck was angry. He had been rather closely connected with the Telegraph for several years, and, in his eyes, it now had turned against those people whom Affleck had encouraged to support the paper. It must be understood, he said, that "Our situation is a fearful one ~~one~~ a situation to be submitted to, but not accepted," as Cushing had "flippantly"

¹⁸ Dallas Herald, August 5, 1865.

¹⁹ Affleck to "Sister," July 22, 1865.

²⁰ Houston Telegraph, quoted in Dallas Herald, August 5, 1865.

insisted it should be. I am "stripped, by a bitter & national [sic] enemy, of the results of the toils of a life-time; and am told to lay me down in the dust, hug the foot of the conqueror to my breast &--'accept the situation!'" Affleck had sworn to support the Constitution "the Union of the States thereunder," and this would be done in good faith with the firm conviction that he was a better citizen than any "abject submissionist that ever lived."

It was difficult for Affleck to believe that Cushing could have written the editorials of which he was complaining. With sharp sarcasm he asked: "Did you write your leader of the 18th Instl, friend Cushing? Or was it some terrible fireeater of the whilom Confederate army, who had pledged himself to wade knee deep in blood rather than submit; hoping, at some time, that he might go to--well, a certain hot climate, if he did live one hour under Yankee rule? It reads as if some terrible rebel had written it. Here is a passage--'All over the country criticisms are to be heard, which would lead an uninstructed foreigner to believe that our leading men have forsaken the Confederate flag, as if there was a Confederate flag; or given up the institution of Slavery; as if the institution still existed; or abandoned the Confederate cause, as if the Confederate cause was not dead and buried. Out upon such insuffia-ble [sic] warplots & mischief-makers!' And so on, through a column of intolerably foolish & impertinent tirade."²¹

²¹ Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, July 18, 1865.

Cushing had waved a red flag at Affleck and at most Texans. The Telegraph was mistaken. "No true Southern men forsook the Confederate flag--it was torn down by an enemy too powerful to longer resist; that flag under which our dearest & bravest fought & fell; that flag will exist for ever; in the hearts of every true son of the South, & in all truthful history." Texans had not given up; "our slaves were wrested from us; they were turned loose upon us, with no one at hand who had authority to instruct or control them. I am & have long been satisfied, that the fanatics who forced this war upon us for this very purpose, will never relax the hand of power, until they have effected their purpose--slavery is dead & buried, & the Negro will soon disappear with the institution which protected him & made him what he is--a half-tamed savage."

The true southern men had not abandoned their cause; they had been overpowered by a greatly superior force. They "became convinced of the fact. And submitted; and that in good faith; such tirades as this [Cushing's editorial] to the contrary notwithstanding." The editor had held out some very clear and drastic threats which, Affleck believed, would have no other effect than to bring about the very things that were deprecated. Cushing had ended his editorial thus: "The men who are truest to the South, & fought the hardest for her, now seek most earnestly for peace, & the restoration of the Union, &c." Affleck agreed with this "but, they do so, like brave men, standing on their feet, their heads raised towards Heaven, submitting like men, to an inevitable necessity, & not ashamed of the cause for which

they fought & bled. And, rest assured, these are the men who may be safely entrusted with the support of the Constitution of the United States, & the Union of the states thereunder!"²²

In the issue of July 22, Cushing had advised the people that they "should not be deterred from approving the advantage of the new system of labor...by a weak fear of being accused of changing" their opinion.²³ Affleck also made some comments on this statement. The people of Texas were not fools. "They are not likely to be troubled with 'weak fears' of any sort....When they become able to discover 'the advantage of the new system of labor' rest assured they will make good use of them. What the said advantages consist in, would puzzle either a Philadelphia or a Boston lawyer to discover as yet."²⁴

As far as Affleck was concerned he "washed his hands" of the whole affair. "Few have done as much for the amelioration of the slave's condition, & for his improvement in every way, as you know, by both precept & example. I would have borne a good deal to have been enabled to protect & care for many old & hitherto faithful servants. But I will neither live the slave of my former slave, nor of any one else." Affleck was convinced that the state and its citizens would be enriched "by driving out the negro & supplying his place with the white man. But--what is to become of the Negro?" That problem would not be settled by the policy followed by the

²² Affleck to Cushing, July 21, 1865; Houston Daily Telegraph, July 18, 1865.

²³ Houston Daily Telegraph, July 22, 1865.

²⁴ Ibid.; Affleck to Cushing, July 24, 1865.

Federal authorities and advocated by the Telegraph.²⁵

Affleck's letter to Cushing was not printed. His future correspondence was directed to the Galveston News, which was still being published in Houston, where it had been moved during the war. Willard Richardson, the editor of the News, held views similar to those of Affleck. When the war closed, he had expressed his opinion thus: "The truth is Texas has the inherent power to recuperate from the effects of this war beyond any State in the South. If the government at Washington should adopt a liberal and humane policy, Texas may become a source of vast revenue to the United States. But under a contrary policy--military government--Texas is certain to become a burden and a tax upon the Federal government....We are now looking with the most intense anxiety to see what policy will be pursued in reference to this great State."²⁶ Both Affleck and Richardson were "unreconstructed rebels."

On August 9 Richardson announced a series of communications "from the pen of Mr. Thomas Affleck, the well known gardener and agriculturist, whose contribution to the current literature of Texas on subjects pertaining to his peculiar line of study, have done so much towards advancing the farming interests of our state. His remarks are entitled to the respectful attention which they will doubtless receive as coming from one who is thoroughly posted on the subject

²⁵ Affleck to Cushing, July 24, 1865; Houston Daily Telegraph, July 6, 18, 22, 1865.

²⁶ Quoted in Acheson, 35,000 Days in Texas, 62.

about which he treats."²⁷ Affleck's first letter was printed in the same issue and shows the continuous development of his thoughts concerning the labor situation and immigration.

It now appeared clear that there must be submission to whatever was imposed upon the people of the state, he wrote. The half-savage slave had been turned loose upon them without control. "The certain results are so clear to all who know the animal nature of the negro, that an intense feeling of anxiety grows daily upon the people. Already, if we are to believe public rumor, some horrible crimes have been attempted and some committed."²⁸ He had, like many others, felt secure in the thought that his former Negro slaves could be trusted to remain loyal regardless of circumstances, but they were fast putting that assurance to a test. He reminded the people of the state of the abolitionist movement of the ante-bellum period. Affleck had been in Cincinnati during the great riots there in 1839-1840 and had witnessed the action of the Negroes who had brought on the riots. He had also seen the sequel in the wholesale murder of the irresponsible Negroes after they had been abandoned by their

²⁷ Galveston ~~Daily~~ News, August 9, 1865.

²⁸ Ibid.

abolitionist friends.²⁹

What could the people of the North expect the attitude of the Southerner to be? "Would servile insurrection, or even scattering cases of insult, burglary, rape and murder contribute to soothe the feelings of anything but one of affection for the Northern people which exists all over the South? Ruin brought upon us; a severe rod of chastisement still hanging over our heads; our leaders and many of our dear ones still in irons and in prisons; standing armies quartered amongst us and by their presence encouraging the danger we all fear--are these things likely to bring about union and good feeling?" The earnest hope and the prayer of the people of the state was that Governor Hamilton would realize the danger and save them from the "horrors" that otherwise they must face. "And this can only be done by the enforcement of such of the laws of the State as will admit of the usual neighborhood patrols--compelling the negroes to have an employer, until a few years of his new condition of freedom may prepare him for an independent and industrious life."

29 *Ibid.* "Scores of runaways, who had been harbored in Cincinnati for months and years, claimed masters that day and were taken home." Thus if in a city "where the whites outnumbered them twenty to one, they could be encouraged to outrage and insult so easily, what is likely to be the result in the country, where families are widely scattered, and so many of the young men have fallen victims in this unfortunate war as to make the disproportion between the whites and blacks so much greater? When the negro knows that we are denied the usual protection of State laws; and when in their hearing, white men are warned by the military authorities that they cannot be permitted to carry even a knife about their home?" Negroes who had been trusted with the lives of members of the families of the planters could no longer be permitted to be around the homes for fear of their actions. Thieving was practiced to an extent unbelievable for the people of the South.

The bearing of arms among the Negroes must by all means be prevented.³⁰

Affleck expressed the belief that Hamilton desired to restore peace and prosperity. As a solution to the Negro question, a system of hiring for a term of five years, or more, on terms acceptable to the employer and employee should be formulated. The county courts would serve as guardians of the freedmen. A share of the crops would be paid to the colored man, and careful attention would be given to his welfare. But nothing could be done, Affleck explained, until the Freedmen's Bureau officials arrived and clarified their plan of operation.³¹ For these officials Affleck also had suggestions. If the superintendent, when he arrived, would "consult with those most interested in, and most conversant with this whole matter, before he determines upon the orders to be promulgated, there might be some hope in the future." But Affleck had little confidence that this advice would be sought or followed, and that there would be any good results from the "mad and fanatical act of emancipation."³²

Affleck was convinced that the only ultimate solution was in getting white labor. He intended to import Scotch cotters to work on his plantation on shares. "The plan has a little of socialism about it; but not, I think, to an objectionable extent"; it would not only be beneficial to the prospective immigrant, but would be

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 48-49.

³¹ The military authorities were issuing orders subject to change by the Bureau. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 49.

³² *Galveston Tri-Weekly News*, August 9, 1865.

of worth to the people of the state.³³ If one "zealous theorist, professing to believe in the full capability of the negro" could show him "that the Negro could be used in such a plan/as he proposed for the Scots/⁷ he would be more than willing to try it." "I have proposed it, and do propose it now. But it cannot be carried out. The negro was elevated by his condition as a slave from his original condition of brutal savagedom, to what he was when emancipated, a good faithful pretty well civilized servant. He is now free, and as matters now stand without control."³⁴

Affleck was writing in this vein when the state was undergoing its first experience with the freedmen and Federal occupation.³⁵ The views that were expressed by him were those held by the majority of the population, and accordingly his opinions attracted much attention.³⁶ Although Texans had not felt the full force of the Federal armies, they not only showed their independence but expected to be allowed to settle their own problems.³⁷ Papers such as the Elake's Galveston Bulletin and the Houston Telegraph expressed different points of view, the former paper much more positively; but they were not convincing to the planters.

There is little of Affleck's private correspondence extant for June, July, and August of 1865. There was great difficulty during

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.; Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 49-50.

³⁵ Galveston News, July 25, 1865 ff.

³⁶ Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 40 ff.; Tyler, History of Bell County, 246-47; Wortham, A History of Texas, V, 3-8.

³⁷ See especially, Wortham, A History of Texas, V, 25-45.

this period in providing the barest necessities.³⁸ Only the good seasons seem to have saved the Afflecks from actual want.³⁹ It is clear that he felt deeply for the plight of those people of the state whose problems were similar to his own.

By September there was almost complete demoralization of the Negroes in many sections of Texas. Harvest time was approaching, and the freedmen were doing as little work as possible. Work could not always be reconciled with the Negroes' idea of freedom, and they were awaiting the time when division of the land and wealth should be made.⁴⁰ In writing to C. S. Longcope, a merchant in Houston, Affleck explained the hopeless outlook for the future. "Affairs are not in a flattering or promising state in the country. The negroes are becoming daily more unwilling to work--with a very few exceptions; & daily verging nearer & nearer insolence.....I keep mine tolerably straight; but work goes on slowly & unwillingly; I have lost one-fourth of my able-bodied ones, without relieving me of any of the old & very young. To go on with saving crops I must hire 20 able bodied hands.... We are going to have serious trouble at Christmas. It is very clear to me, that neither Cotton nor corn will be planted, next spring, in anything like season." The letter ended with "Yours, gloomy & discouraged--albeit not easily brought into such a state."⁴¹

³⁸ Affleck to James A. Cushman, June 30, 1865; *id.* to H. Shuttle and Company, June 30, 1865; *id.* to David Ayres, Balton, June 30, 1865.

³⁹ See *Clarksville Standard*, July 22, 1865, for a report on crops.

⁴⁰ Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 70-71; *New Orleans Picayune*, October 15, 22, 1865. The *Picayune* carried numerous items from the Texas press during this period.

⁴¹ Affleck to C. S. Longcope, August 30, 1865.

Troubles with the Negroes were difficult to handle. Without punishment, so Affleck believed, there seemed to be no way that the freedmen could be "kept in their place." An illustrative case of Negro insubordination and the dilemma faced by the former master was reported by Affleck to the military commander at Brenham. Henry Carter had been, according to Affleck, a much favored slave who had been forgiven delinquencies on several occasions in the past. During the previous week Henry had been caught stealing at the gristmill. Before the foreman brought the matter to the attention of Affleck, Henry had reported it himself without any show of regret for his deed. This made Affleck highly indignant, "But, knowing the result of a white man resenting any indignity ~~now~~ from a negro, I restrained myself." He spoke to the Negro with dignity, telling him in kind words that he must not be insulting to white people. Henry was then given a piece of paper on which Affleck had written the following: "Henry Carter, having been found guilty of theft on my mill, I have no further use for him, any one who wants him can hire him."⁴² Relenting, Affleck decided that the Negro should be allowed one more chance. But Henry's actions became continually worse. Affleck wrote: "I am confident-- I will swear--that I believe him capable of arson or any such crime.... But what am I to do? If this is allowed to go unpunished--~~not~~ the little flour, ~~taken~~ by a negro, a ~~something is said~~ but the theft of a

⁴² Id. to Captain Post, September 5, 1865. In his treatment of Henry Carter Affleck had been influenced by the fact that the Negro had been with Calvin Smith when he had been struck down by a fatal illness on board ship.

trusted servant; one whom the other hands know to have been guilty, in times past....If Henry is allowed to go unpunished, there is no safety for property or anything else on this place or in the neighborhood."

Another incident called to the attention of the officer was the case of "George," who was allowed to go unpunished after defying "your authority as well as mine," a fact which was "known all over the vicinity, & commented upon." Again, a Negro boy had recently "stolen another mile & gone off towards Mexico." Affleck hoped to have him overtaken about New Braunfels. But "If so, what am I to do with him? In his case, for his parent's sake, I would not like to see greater punishment inflicted, than a few weeks of solitary confinement."⁴³

Later that month, on September 14, Affleck reported on the situation to the editor of the New Orleans Picayune. The crops had been promising, and, with a little work, there would have been cotton and supplies enough produced to meet the needs of the people on the place. But the Negroes would not work. Over sixty barrels of syrup could have been made, but there was no one to prepare it; thirty bales of cotton could be gathered, but there were no pickers; and hay could be had for the cutting, for which he was willing to pay one sixth for the labor, but no one accepted the offer. "And such is, generally the state of things in this beautiful country. The truth is... /the

43 Ibid.

Negroes⁷ are an unhappy, ruined, wretched people, & know not what they would do." With their contracts, "They were well satisfied; until more & more orders were published; of all of which they acquire an immediate knowledge--Other means of creating dissatisfaction also existed; upon which I dare not at present comment." The Negroes had given no trouble until they "evidently got an inkling of the advice tendered them by their fanatical, devilish, Yankee friends, to 'spoil the Egyptians', & are bent upon doing it."⁴⁴ Afflock's experiences were not unusual. Similar troublesome issues were reported from all areas where there were both a large Negro population and military forces near enough to lead the Negroes to believe that they would be protected.⁴⁵

44 Afflock to the Editor of the Picayune, September 14, 1865. This communication does not appear to have been published. He continued his letter showing the absurdity of some of the beliefs of the Negroes and the impossible position of the former masters. "I would not make another day's effort, if it were not that the corn will be absolutely needed to fend off starvation; & the cotton to provide them with the clothing needed through the coming winter. They are all impatient to scatter over the world; all regretting that they made any contract. And go they shall, as soon as the crops are housed. There are not over from six to ten hands, of all the force on the place, formerly 120 in number, who will remain, & work on any terms whatever. They all intend to go to towns, to return to Md., Va. & Ky., & to Miss., or to go to New Orleans--where the cook is confident she can support herself & three young children of her old age, but make a fortune with a cock-shop. An old fellow of 65 or 70, who has not earned his salt, these five years, nor his wife either; & who could hardly stock or bull-tongue plow, if carefully watched, also goes to New Orleans, to establish a wagon-shop. Another young fellow, who has run a small steam engine for some years, under the eye of a white person--a mere fireman in fact, capable of nothing more, & now earning 50¢ a day, & his family provided for, goes to New York, where good Engineers are appreciated! Yet another helpless old couple, of not less than 70 to 75, go back to Natchez, to carry on a Market farm!"

45 See, Fensdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 50; Tyler, History of Bell County, 245-46.

Most of the freedmen were convinced that there would be a division of lands and other wealth at Christmas. The most loyal on Affleck's plantation had informed him that few or none of the Negroes would go to work in the spring in time to make crops.⁴⁶

Furthermore, emancipation had had an undesirable influence on the religious practices of the freedmen. On Affleck's place there had been a congregation "of some 60 to 100 adults, under the excellent & judicious ministration of the Rev. J. W. Miller. They had been religiously instructed for many years. Mr. M. preached to them in a little church I built on the place, once a month. The attendance rapidly dwindled away during the last three months; until at the last meeting there were only eleven present, & seven of these I called in!"⁴⁷

On September 18 Affleck again expressed his views in a letter to Charles DeMorse, editor of the Clarksville Standard. DeMorse agreed with the Galveston News and with Affleck on the issues of emancipation and racial equality. Affleck wrote that DeMorse's "manly stand...during a time of such abject & grovelling conduct on the part of so many, is generally known & appreciated."⁴⁸ Affleck realized that North Texans were not faced with so difficult problems in reference to the Negro

⁴⁶ Ibid. See New Orleans Picayune, September 14, 1865, for similar views expressed by Texas newspapers and citizens' meetings.

⁴⁷ Affleck to the Editor of the Picayune, September 14, 1865.

⁴⁸ Id. to Charles DeMorse, September 18, 1865. Affleck said that he felt like an old neighbor, that "'we have got to eat dirt,' as he expressed it, 'but can see no reason why (an editor he named probably Cushing, & who he says was 'first in war & first in peace,' but here a time 'first in the hearts of his countrymen'!) should force a bushel down our throats when a peck would suffice!'"

as those farther south. "Their numbers are not sufficient to give any anxiety for their future conduct of life; nor are you so greatly dependent on their labour. With us, their future, & ours as influenced by theirs, are questions which time & the future conduct of the fanatical power, can alone solve. We too, have duties to perform, however, to the negro & to ourselves & our children & must not shirk them. They should be assisted in acquiring such an education as may be of value to them, & as they are capable of acquiring, and should have afforded them every possible incentive to industry, honesty & consequent usefulness. But--that any step should be taken towards admitting that they are or ever can be the white man's equal, would be an act of madness & folly. Any form of suffrage, or upon ⁴⁹ any conditions, would form the entering wedge to that act."

The Assistant Commissioner in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau in Texas, General E. M. Gregory, arrived to take charge of the work in that state on September 22, 1865. It was December, however, before sufficient force could be organized to function efficiently. In the interim, the Negro problem became increasingly serious. Even the military officers, who had been in control before Gregory arrived, no longer accepted responsibility for relations between the whites and the Negroes. Gregory's own speeches, although moderate, ⁵⁰ caused difficulty because they were misinterpreted.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 25, 26, 27, October 13, 1865; New Orleans Picayune, October 8, 1865; Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 70-73; Paul S. Pierce, The Freedmen's Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction, in The State University of Iowa Studies in Sociology, Economics, Politics and History, III, No. 1 (Iowa City, 1904), 68-74.

Affleck's conviction that the Negro would never prove to be a useful free laborer was again expressed in several letters after Gregory's arrival. On October 13 he wrote to the Galveston News that he would "be glad to have Gen. Gregory--or whoever had the control of such matters," to settle some problems concerning the Negroes on his place. Although he was driven almost to desperation by the actions of the Negroes and by the restrictions that were placed upon him by military orders, he must save some crops. He would pay well for the services of the Negroes up to Christmas, and after that he would have nothing more to do with them. Affleck would tolerate

51

51 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 13, 27, 1865. The problems mentioned by Affleck were indeed difficult of solution. A Negro man, formerly his property, and at that time under contract to Affleck, "formerly one of my most valued and trusted servants; now quarrelsome, insolent, and fast verging on the dangerous, is the father of a boy--the mother having been a mere child when the boy was born, some 14 or 15 years old--whom he never pretended to own or interfere with in any way, until now, that he thinks he may make him useful to himself. The mother married, and has six children besides. She acted a mother's part by the boy, however, ~~he~~ was raised mainly in my household. This fellow, who merely begot the boy, this morning got up an extensive quarrel in my house, before my face, and kept up in defiance of my authority. And for which, had my hands not been so effectually tied, I would have treated as a white man would certainly have been treated in such a case. As it is, I had to bear it. I would have driven him once from the place. But, the example would have been ruinous; as I must save the crops; I must support the old and the young; and I can do neither if I permit the able-bodied to leave. The fellow had a wife and three children by her. Now, to whom belongs the boy in question?" A similar case had occurred where a father had attempted to take a girl raised by a couple of old people from them. "A game of grab is attempted by the step mother and all the uncles and aunts, who each and all claim the girl. Now to whom does this girl owe a child's duty? I say assuredly to the old people, with whom she thus far would desire to remain." Ibid., October 13, 1865.

the situation as long and as patiently as it was absolutely necessary, "but, not one hour longer will I endure the impudent leer and lounging movement; the drawling, disrespectful manner; the neglect of duties; the want of care of stock, gates left open, fences laid down; horses and mules ridden off at night; the stealing of anything upon which they can lay their hands--the slighting or dodging of orders to be obeyed; the quarreling and fighting amongst themselves; the infamous debauching of mere children; the brutal language used even in the hearing of white females and children, and other conduct, which is of every day occurrences, where fear of immediate consequences does not even yet afford some check." The day before a faithful old Negro had urged him to drive the whole force away. "Do it, master, do it--them niggers is takin' you farther and farther from Heaven every day!" And--God help me--it is true.⁵²

During the middle of November, while Affleck was away for a journey to the Guadeloupe Valley, his wife had been insulted by a Negro. This was more than any man could be expected to stand. In writing to Lieutenant B. I. Arnold, provost-marshal at Brenham, he confessed that he "was under such a degree of excitement that I dare not trust myself to deal with them. Let this confession, Sir, induce you, if at all in your power, to come here this evening....My hands are, virtually, tied. If I had only the Civil laws to deal with, I would ask no man's aid or countenance. As it is, I must claim of

⁵² Ibid.; Affleck to DeMorse, September 18, 1865.

you, as the officer in command of this class of people, to be present when I remove this family from my premises. If I am forced to come in contact with them, I cannot answer for myself." There were also other matters of importance that needed the attention of someone in authority.

As a result of the demoralized condition which he found upon his return from his journey, he had lost most of his earlier sympathy for the Negroes. His disgust and distress were expressed in another letter to his uncle in Scotland. "The bulk of them, including almost all of the young & able-bodied, [are] already worthless. And worse than that, are insolent & dishonest to a most intolerable degree. The feeling towards them, when emancipation was forced upon us, was one of kindness & sympathy. That has almost died out, under the continual harrassment and annoyances to which they have subjected us." The most serious result of the present situation was the "terribly depressed state of many of our best people, who see no hope in the future. I do not so view it. Our country and people will rise above it. The negro will be forced to work, on some plan or other. Vast numbers will quickly die off, from dissipation, exposure & suffering. There will be no farther increase of their numbers. A large proportion will soon find their way into the Penitentiaries &c. And the most distant end will be their entire deportation to some other country; which will be the end of them."

53 Affleck to Lieutenant W. I. Arnold, Brenham, November 12, 1865. Although the provost-marshals co-operated with the planters to their ability, there was too wide a difference between the orders of the former and the views of the latter as to the place of the Negro.

There was one ray of hope. Those who were sent to the penitentiaries could be procured from the state and used to carry out a plan for irrigating the Guadalupe Valley. Affleck would secure from the state "at the first meeting of the Legislature, not only a most favorable charter for the irrigation and control of the Guadalupe lands⁵⁴; but a grant for 10 years, of all the colored convicts found guilty of penal offenses & vagrancy, in the counties west of the Brazos river; which are estimated as sure to number about 2,000 per ann: for some years. They can be worked without difficulty; & will beyond question be again the hapiest of their now wretched race, criminals tho' they be."⁵⁴ This project would facilitate white immigration; the land which was prepared with convict Negroes could be worked by the Scotch who would come to the country. The water-power⁵⁵ supply created would open new occupations.

Matters did not change for the better in Texas when the Freedmen's Bureau began to function. Some of the speeches by officials contained sound advice for the Negro and the planter, but by the time the information was passed on to most freedmen, the meaning had been so distorted by other Negroes or by the Federal soldiers that harm was often done. Those officers who were heard to give advice in agreement with the planters' views were not considered by the Negroes to be of

⁵⁴ Affleck to Hannay, November 14, 1865. See also, Affleck's letter in the Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 22, 1865.

⁵⁵ Affleck to James Scoley, November 22, 1865.

the "right breed of Yankees." Under the circumstances, Gregory's critical attitude toward the former slaveholders can be understood. He feared criticism and reprimands if he consulted the planters too much, and his failure to consult them led to mutual misunderstanding. To deal with the increasing discontent, Gregory became more and more dictatorial in his actions.⁵⁶

In the closing days of November, 1865, conflicting reports came from Washington County concerning the labor situation. One planter from the section reported that the Freedmen's Bureau was doing excellently. Everything possible was being done to persuade the Negroes to work for reasonable wages and to fulfill their contracts. "Therefore the planters have seldom any cause to complain of this Bureau." It was to be regretted, this man added, that other counties were not having like success.⁵⁷ But Affleck reported none of this satisfaction with the Bureau and the Negroes. Although he believed that there would be a chance of a partial crop the next year if the actions of the Bureau were judicious, the former slave was destined to prove a failure as a freedman. "All...at present, want to rent land and then come, as they imagine, from under control; and be enabled to feel that they are, as they have had so emphatically impressed upon them, again and

⁵⁶ Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 73-75; Affleck to Corley, November 22, 1865; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 8, 1865; New Orleans Picayune, December 3, 7, 1865. There were also some words of praise for Gregory.

⁵⁷ New Orleans Picayune, November 24, 1865.

again, the white man's social; which is their idea of freedom; the result of being told by nearly every 'ankey' officer, 'your are as free as I am.' And as the said officer's foot is on 'old master's' neck, the negro, must be a very free man!"⁵⁸

From first to last Affleck's views as to the proper status of the Negroes did not change. History had proven, wrote Affleck, that the Negro was unsuited for freedom even under the most ideal circumstances. And in the South freedom had been achieved under the worst possible conditions.⁵⁹ The Negro had no place in the society of Texas except as a slave, and slavery under Affleck's system of management had been very lenient. There could be no talk of equality, either social or civil. The Negroes were neither ready nor fit for it.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, November 24, 29, 1865; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 29, 1865.

⁵⁹ Affleck to Charles M. Congrove, November 24, 1865.

EARLY IMMIGRATION PLANS

Soon after the emancipation of the Negroes, Affleck had begun to search for means to overcome the dependence of planters upon the freedmen. At first he was interested in a solution principally for his own personal problems, but it soon became evident that there was great promise of developing a general movement to help the people of the whole state. Probably with similar activities in other states¹ in mind, he prepared a plan which would bring large numbers of Europeans to Texas. In a letter of July 14, 1865, to his Uncle Alexander Hannay in Scotland, Affleck first presented² his ideas for the importation of laborers.

Affleck explained to Hannay that it had long been the practice in his section of the country to make agreements with immigrants, especially with Germans, to work land on shares until they had

¹ The earliest organization to encourage immigration was formed in Virginia in June, 1865. This state was also the first to pass legislation to encourage it. Richmond Republic, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, July 2, 1865; Virginia Acts, 1865, chaps. 142, 143, 182, 184, pp. 234-36, 288-90. There was immigration interest in every southern state during the early Reconstruction period. See Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 26, July 5, 10, 12, 1865; Washington Times, quoted in Clarksville Standard, July 22, 1865; Walter Prichard, "The Effects of the Civil War on the Louisiana Sugar Industry," in Journal of Southern History, V (1939), 326; R. H. Woody, "The Labor and Immigration Problem of South Carolina During Reconstruction," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVIII (1932), 195-212. Walter L. Fleming, "Immigration to the Southern States," in Political Science Quarterly, XI (1905), 276, is misleading.

² Affleck to Alexander Hannay, July 14, 1865.

accumulated enough money to purchase places of their own. Such a system had always proved satisfactory "with great gain & advantage to the immigrant." He was convinced that he could go to Scotland and bring out a number of "well-known and sober & industrious" men and their families of the cotter class with successful results.³

The Scotsmen would pay their own way to Texas, and Affleck would see that the trip was made economically and comfortably. On his own plantation there would be places and a sufficient supply of teams and farm implements for twenty or twenty-five families. Feed for livestock and food for the families during the first year would be advanced or loaned, to be repaid out of the return from the first crop. Against their labor he would "put in land, teams, implements, wagons &c., houses, fuel, a cow & use of a cow, during the first three years; during the last two, they say, each family, purchase & keep on the place not more than two cows & their increase." Affleck's general superintendence would be a part of his services according to the contracts.

The immigrants were to select their own immediate supervisors. Their manager would keep "such a statement of the capability & efficiency of each hand, of the time lost from sickness or otherwise

³ Ibid.

4[as] as to enable him, with two of the others, to make a fair proportioning of the crops or their proceeds amongst the different families or laborers." The crops were to be principally corn and cotton but were to include enough small grain, tobacco, etc. to supply the plantation. The landowner was to receive one half of the crops as his share. Any hands that he might employ at other work, such as hedging, would be paid at the same rates realized by the farm laborers. "A good blacksmith, a wheelwright, & other mechanics would be needed; who would draw their shares from the crops but in greater ratio than mere laborers." The regular farm hand could expect annually at least \$150 net and possibly more after all expenses were paid; the other laborers would share according to their work.⁴

There were a great many advantages in Texas, Affleck thought, that other states could not offer an immigrant. In his own particular locality the newcomer could find good churches and schools. Further and more important, the country was healthy. Immigrants "must expect some sickness, from change of air, of work & of water & diet. But, coming to an old settled place, comfortably housed at once, with wholesome food, one to advise & assist them who knows how &c., they would know nothing of what an emigrant usually undergoes.

⁴ Ibid.

And especially to a cold, poor country such as Canada; or to the Northern or Western States, amongst cheating, swindling Yankees, to whom every immigrant is fair game, until as they term it, he 'learned the ropes', from dear bought experience." But if they came over as a group and settled together in a place already established, furnishing mutual assistance and advice, there would be no great difficulty. Otherwise, and Affleck spoke from experience, there would "be sickness & death of a great part of the family, often its head, with great suffering, loss of everything, & consequent poverty."⁵

Affleck emphasized the comparative disadvantages of other areas that were drawing immigrants. He had learned that joint stock companies "were being got up both north and south, to induce emigration from Europe. Great inducements of cheap lands will be offered. These emigrants, ignorant of everything outside of their own island, or even parish-trained to one simple routine of labor are to be induced to invest their 'wee penny sifter' in a tract of wild land, perhaps all prairie, or all timber, or located in a miserable swamp--for, rely upon it, very valuable tracts are never thus sold; or they are offered the same land on long credit, at three or four times its real value; away, hundreds of miles from a market; or, if near a railroad or river &c., it has 'either an auld fault or a new one'. There they settle; disappointed from the first, & discouraged throughout." If

⁵ Ibid.

they did finally manage to exist and to pay for their land the settlement would be a poverty-stricken one without schools or churches. "Many a colony of the kind was attempted in Texas, which nearly all resulted just so; & that too, in localities which are now rich & prosperous--prosperity based upon the easy acquisition of the improvements made & abandoned by the settler." These observations were based on Affleck's experiences in Indiana, but his motives may have been less an interest in the immigrants' welfare than a desire to secure the settlement of Texas lands.⁶

If he carried the plan through, he continued, he would probably make contracts with other planters to furnish them with laborers from Scotland. For this service, he would demand for a five-year period 10 per cent of the crops on the places where they settled; that is, the immigrant and the planter would pay him 5 per cent each and "this I would certainly earn, on both sides of the water." Although he expected to make agreements only with planters who had desirably located places, he thought perhaps he might secure "the control of some good tracts of wild lands, on which a class of immigrants might settle, who have means to settle themselves, if they had time on payment."

There were, of course, serious problems involved in this plan. The greatest difficulty would be to find families with sufficient funds as well as the desire to emigrate. Those who had not shown

⁶ Ibid.; Cole, "Early Life of Thomas Affleck," 33-31.

themselves to be industrious and economical were undesirable. Means must be found to keep the immigrants on the plantations, for after a year or two they might think that they would prosper more by purchasing their own land. Also there were "mean men here, who would seek to entice off the best men," and this danger must be avoided.⁷

Affleck's plans for solving the labor problems of the state were gradually expanded during the fall. Public interest in his views, as expressed in published letters, had been so satisfactory that he felt secure in undertaking a program which would serve the needs of all who desired white labor.⁸

Involved in his immigration schemes were several other projects.⁹ While considering ways and means of accomplishing his major plan, Affleck had decided that the irrigation of Texas river valleys would be profitable.¹⁰ The response to such an undertaking had been so favorable that he proposed a survey of the Guadalupe Valley.¹¹ There was a great need for beef in Europe caused by a fearful cattle plague; England had been especially hard hit.¹²

7 Affleck to Hannay, July 14, 1865; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 13, 1865.

8 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 7, 13, 15, 1865, *et seq.*

9 Affleck to C. S. Longcope, August 30, 1865; *id.* to Charles DeMorse, September 18, 1865; *id.* to A. M. Holbrook, October 11, 1865; *id.* to Cook and Newman, November 21, 1865.

10 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 16, 1865.

11 Affleck to Tipton Walker, September 16, 1865; *id.* to Cook and Newman, October 20, 1865; *id.* to Alexander Hannay, November 14, 1865.

12 *Id.* to J. T. and W. Brady, November 13, 1865.

This need provided a solution to the problem of getting transportation for immigrants, as beef would provide return cargoes, and would add support to his plans among the cattle raisers of the state.

By early fall the Texas newspapers were devoting much space to immigration and to the labor question. Texans were being urged to organize companies, get capital from the North and Europe, and bring in the necessary labor from Scotland, Ireland, England, or Germany.¹³ Articles from papers of other states were copied. An editorial in the New York Herald advised the Negroes to take warning from the immigration movement and to go to work, or there would be no place for them.¹⁴ It was reported that an agent of a Polish Company, organized to help countrymen migrate to the United States,¹⁵ had purchased 30,000 acres near Palestine, Texas. Germans in the state were writing many letters encouraging friends and relatives in the homeland to come to the South. Assistance and guidance were offered.¹⁶ The Reverend Dr. Stephen Day, an Episcopal clergyman in Texas, added his support to the movement. He wrote to the Galveston News that he was on his way to London with one of his objects to "subserve the interests of the South," which could best be done by

13 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 22, 1865.

14 New York Herald, quoted in ibid., September 29, 1865. "The downfall of slavery has opened in our southern states a vast and inviting field for European immigration, and the southern blacks must go to work cheerfully, steadily and systematically or they will be rooted out, except in the swamps, by white labor." Ibid.

15 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 3, 1865.

16 Elake's Galveston Bulletin, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, October 2, 1865.

encouraging the proper persons in Great Britain to emigrate to the region. The editor explained that Dr. Day was well acquainted with many of the larger planters and with conditions on the plantations before and after the war. "He concurs in the general representation of the growing insolence and indolence of the freedmen, and expressed the conviction of the necessity of dependence upon white labor." Day favored the plan of attracting the Scottish cottar, but was convinced that he could be properly handled only if he came directly to the South. "Indeed, this point is of importance with regard to emigration in general; for, unfortunately, there is so much prejudice against the South at the North, and so much ignorance, that emigrants coming that way would almost certainly arrive with improper views and feeling, which could be removed only by a considerable length of observation and experience."¹⁷

Considerable information on the various types of immigrants suitable to Texas found its way into the press. Large numbers of people from Alabama, Georgia, and other states arrived daily. These would not solve the problem of the Texas plantation areas, it was argued, as they were principally going to the frontier to acquire cheap lands. This form of immigration was encouraged, but it would¹⁸ not replace the need for Europeans. The importation of Chinese and

17 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 16, 1865.

18 Ibid., October 25, 27, November 8, 1865.

Indian coolies was advocated from time to time, but a majority of Texans as well as of Louisianians were early convinced of their
 19
 unfitness. The consensus was that the introduction of another inferior racial group would only add to the problems that already faced the section and therefore should not be encouraged.

Governor Hamilton was urged to appoint an immigration commis-
 20
 sioner, but he appears to have paid little attention to the requests. The Governor's lack of interest was detrimental to the movement, but Affleck, who could expect little at the hands of the Unionists, was not anxious at that time to have an official commissioner appointed.

By November, Affleck's plans for solving the problem of the
 21
 livestock industry in the state were beginning to take form. Some-
 time during early October he made tentative arrangements with J. T.
 22
 and W. Brady, commission Merchants at Houston and Galveston, to
 23
 ship beef to England. On October 19 he reported the results of a

19 See Prichard, "The Effects of the Civil War on the Louisiana Sugar Industry," in loc. cit., 326; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 25, 27, 30, at 822.

20 William Alexander to Governor Andrew J. Hamilton, October 27, 1865; John M. Jones to id., October 28, 1865, in Governor's Correspondence, in Texas State Archives. The letter explained that such an appointment would have great effect in directing the tide of immigration to the state. "Texas wants settlers," Alexander wrote, "A commissioner authorized to represent facts to the State could not fail to get many, who if there were none for Texas, might be directed to other States."

21 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, August 21, 1865.

22 Texas Almanac for 1867, p. 305.

23 Affleck to J. T. and W. Brady, October 19, 1865. Whether the plan originated with Affleck or with the Bradys is not known.

cursory survey of the cattle supply. Heavy herds had been thinned out considerably during the war, but there were enough remaining for drovers to keep a steady stream moving to the Mississippi. The matter would be looked into more carefully on his trip through the Guadalupe Valley. The possibilities for transshipping by way of lighters at Lavaca and Aransas Bay would be studied, and the cost of supplying feed for the animals while awaiting shipment would be determined.²⁴

About October 20 Affleck, though in poor financial condition,²⁵ departed for a three-weeks' journey to the Guadalupe Valley. He traveled almost continuously, talked with many people about his plans,²⁶ and ascertained the probability of success. He not only found immigration and irrigation prospects favorable and much show of co-operation, but he was surprised to learn that the supply of livestock was plentiful.²⁷ He also discovered that shipments could be made as cheaply from Lavaca as from Galveston. The only difficulty in the way of a successful venture would be in keeping a supply of beef on hand.²⁸ It would take some time to load the large ships by lighters.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Affleck to Cook and Newman, October 20, 1865. He sold glass from his greenhouse and also tried to sell his portable steam engine to raise funds for the trip. Id. to Colonel Sledge, October 20, 1865.

²⁶ Id. to J. T. and W. Brady, November 13, 1865; id. to Henry Hayman, November 13, 1865; id. to Alexander Hannay, November 14, 1865.

²⁷ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 11, 1865.

²⁸ Affleck to J. T. and William Brady, November 13, 1865.

On Affleck's return from the Guadeloupe he found a letter from the Bradys informing him that they were in correspondence with a Liverpool company interested in purchasing Texas cattle. It would be necessary, however, for the Texans to invest some money. The Bradys expressed doubt whether they would do this. Affleck informed them that he would like to have the opportunity
29
of such an investment.

Affleck next directed his correspondence to Henry W. Hayman, who apparently owned or had under his control some screw-propeller ships. The Bradys had handed over their correspondence with Hayman to Affleck, the Texan explained, and he desired more information concerning the contract that Hayman's company was prepared to make. The Englishman had informed the Bradys that he desired to procure about 10,000 beesves weighing between 700 and 900 pounds each, to be delivered at Galveston. The number could be gathered within a month or six weeks, Affleck stated, but it would be almost impossible to get animals weighing over 500 pounds. It would take considerable time to lighter that number of cattle to the large ships as they could not cross the bars in Texas harbors. This would entail extra expense for loading. Feed and loss of weight while the cattle were
30
waiting would also decrease the profits.

On the day after writing to Hayman, Affleck again addressed a letter to his uncle in Scotland seeking advice. He wrote that

29 Ibid.; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 11, 1865.

30 Affleck to Hayman, November 13, 1865.

"Whilst I was in much of a quandry as to how emigrants were to be brought to our Texas shores, there was submitted to me, a proposal by Mr. Hayman of Liverpool, to contract for 10,000 or more Beeves, to be carried over in screw propellers built for that purpose; & which are represented to have been so employed, in carrying Beeves from Australia."³¹ This appeared to be a "godsend," he explained, because no other means of attracting ships directly to Texas at reasonable cost seemed possible. Affleck had a partner, W. I. Wimbish, who was to gather the livestock, while he himself could give undivided attention to immigration. Both partners were anxious to know more about the Hayman or "English & American Cattle Traffic & Steam Conveyance Company."³²

Before hearing from his uncle, however, Affleck wrote Hayman, offering to enter a partnership to ship live and slaughtered animals, the latter on ice. The Texan would be willing to join the company on condition that he and his partner were to receive in cash two thirds of the cost of the animals, the other third to be applied to purchase a share in the company. The cattle would be furnished at five cents a pound, he stated. By such an arrangement Affleck could make a profit on the animals, and at the same time acquire a one-third³³ interest in the organization.

³¹ *Id.* to Hannay, November 14, 1865.

³² *Ibid.*; *id.* to Hayman, November 13, 1865.

³³ *Id.* to Hayman, November 13, 1865; *id.* to J. T. and William Brady, November 13, 1865.

The hopes for bringing immigrants to Texas were explained to show the efficacy of the proposals. "To be frank with you--my friend & myself are fully informed through the European papers we receive, of the great progress the Cattle plague has made, both with you & on the continent; that before it runs its course, the destruction of Cattle must be immense; & that, as a natural consequence beesves & other Cattle must be brought from other countries. We see no hope of working our plantations by free negro labour. They are too valuable to be allowed to go back again to a state of nature. They are our homes, in the loveliest country on earth, & under the brightest sky & the most pleasant & healthy climate. I use superlatives, & so mean it! We must & we will have other labour. Neither of us approve or will do anything towards the introduction of Coolies." Thus importation of laborers from Great Britain and exportation of cattle would solve the problems of both countries. Affleck and his associate were therefore determined to go into the cattle exporting business, if not with Hayman, with some other person or concern.³⁴

Two days later another letter was sent to the Englishman. Affleck had learned since writing his last communication that an English contract for barreled, salted beef had been awarded in New York. This process of preservation might be the means for beginning shipment from Texas more quickly than otherwise expected. If any moves were

³⁴ Id. to id., November 22, 1865.

to be made that season, however, they must be made quickly. Buildings would have to be rented, barrels and salt ordered, and cattle contracted for. An agent should be sent at once to begin arrangements. "But for the present high prices of Beef with you--&--which, I perceive leads the London morning Post to 'propose bringing across the Atlantic (from Canada) dead meat in marketable condition'--it would be best to defer anything more than the shipping of live beasts, until another season." An immediate decision was urged.³⁵

Affleck's awareness of the issues facing the United States as result of Napoleon III's venture in Mexico is indicated in another of his propositions. In November, S. H. Maverick of San Antonio was informed of a scheme that could only have originated in the mind of a person with a fertile imagination. The proposal, however, was not lacking in businesslike design. "I have an idea," Affleck wrote, "that the French Government might give some tangible encouragement to a Joint Stock Emigration Company, to settle such lands on the Borders of Mexico" as Maverick owned there. In Europe, where he intended to go soon, Affleck would contact persons of influence in the French government. He would "first seek to interest 'the powers that be' in the advantages to France of having a strong French Colony located so near the borders of a country in which they now feel so much interested; & which Colony would extend to both sides of the river, lessening the probabilities of any future rupture. And thus secure inducements,

³⁵ Id. to id., November 12, 22, 1865.

privileges, &c. of some nature; then stir up thro' the press, the subject of emigration hither--rich lands, fine climate, irrigation, Cotton at its enormously high price, & wine, perhaps water powers & factories, &c. &c.; & forming a Company to bring out & colonize the emigrants against capital, & so on." ³⁶ In return for Affleck's work in the interest of the Rio Grande lands Maverick should give up a half interest in them. Judging from the support for a similar project in the Guadalupe Valley, the promise of success was good.

Maverick could also aid in other ways if he were so inclined. Affleck explained that he was at the time preparing a descriptive volume on Texas and its resources to be printed in several foreign languages. It was to be distributed gratuitously, and money must be raised by contributions. He must depend principally upon land-owners for this assistance. That it was a bad time for such an appeal, he well knew, but the only salvation for the state was for each to lend the other assistance. Another request made of Maverick indicated Affleck's new interest--politics. "I, also, intend inducing the Convention, when it meets," he explained, "to recommend the Governor to appoint me an Emigration & Agricultural Commissioner to Europe. And will then get the first legislature that meets, to confirm the appointment; & perhaps make a small appropriation to aid me....I feel confident I may rely on your assistance with the members; & even, if I could induce you to meet me in Austin, in lobbying!"

36 Id. to S. A. Maverick, November 21, 1865.

Affleck also explained his hopes for getting the state to turn over the convict labor to him for building dams and conserving soils along the rivers. Ultimately, he wrote, he proposed to irrigate every valley in the western part of Texas.³⁷

The Guadalupe Valley irrigation project was practically assured of success, Affleck reported in the fall of 1865 in his correspondence to the newspapers and to private individuals. When asked if this were not a strange time to be concerned with subjects of such nature when the labor of the country was gone forever and the lands rendered valueless thereby, when money for promoting such projects was almost nonexistent, and when the people of the state were utterly demoralized, he replied with an emphatic negative. "Now is the very time. Our former labor system is destroyed, and with it the laborer. We must hire. Must pay wages. We cannot afford to risk an uncertain crop and undertake to do this. We all know that the negro will prove a very useless dependence as a freedman. The white man can labor in all of our western valleys, as well and safely as anywhere on earth. Let us, then procure white labor. And as it will cost some trouble and expense to do this, let us have intelligent laborers, those of a superior class. If the plan on foot can be carried out, the money to be necessarily expended will go far to bring in and support a large body of immigrants. Without irrigation and labor, the lands in the valley are valueless indeed. Then, do not

³⁷ *Ibid.*

hesitate to let a part of them go, that the rest may be rendered immensely valuable. If we can, we people of the South, by our own exertion--and we assuredly can do so--over-ride the fearful affliction brought upon us by our uncompromising enemies, let us not speak or think of discouragement, nor fold our hands and sigh over the past, but be up and doing."³⁸

Irrigation was to be carried out by means of a joint-stock company capitalized at \$750,000, formed of landowners who would put up lands valued at \$100,000 and \$150,000 in cash as their part of stock. The capitalists in England would take enough stock in cash to get the project under way. It would show such a profit that there would be no trouble in marketing the other stock. Property would increase in value, and there would be immense returns from water power created by the dams.³⁹ Although there was very little written on the subject, Affleck explained to inquirers that previous irrigation attempts had been eminently successful.⁴⁰ He was making arrangements for a cross-section survey of the Guadalupe Valley, which was to be paid for by property owners in that section. This was to be completed before the legislature met the next year so that a charter could be procured.⁴¹

If Affleck's proposed ventures were to be successful, support in places other than Texas had to be cultivated. Capitalists in the North and in England must be approached with a view of securing finan-

³⁸ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 29, 1865.

³⁹ Affleck to Congreve, November 24, 1865.

⁴⁰ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 11, 1865.

⁴¹ Affleck to Colonel R. T. Paller, November 24, 1865.

sial assistance. Since his proposals had progressed as far as possible without more definite information, he prepared to journey to the North and to England to make a survey.⁴²

⁴² Enthusiastic expressions of approval led Affleck to believe that unlimited co-operation could be expected from the people of the state. He apparently did not concern himself to learn definitely how far Texans were capable or willing to assist.

FIRST EUROPEAN TRIP

There were indications during December, 1865, that, except in their relations with the Negroes, Texans were to be allowed much freedom in solving their economic problems.¹ Affleck was therefore eager to proceed with his plans. Indebtedness continued to plague him he was not only more deeply obligated as a result of personal losses, but he felt that he must return the value of the property that had belonged to his sons. Again the principal driving force was his desire to provide for the future of his family. But as usual he was entering upon great enterprises without capital to carry them out. He had nothing to offer except his influence, energy, and great imagination.

Arrangements for the care of his family were made before Affleck's departure for the North. Dr. Inge, his brother-in-law, contracted to manage the plantation on shares.² Negro labor was to be used, and cotton was to be the principal crop.³ James Sorley of Galveston prominent in state affairs, was to serve in an advisory capacity. As a close friend, he would not permit Affleck's family to undergo great privation.⁴ An agreement was made with William Copeland to manage the sawmill and the flour and grist mills.⁵

¹ Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 70-77.

² Affleck to Charles M. Congreve, November 24, 1865.

³ Ibid. to wife, December 17, 1865.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Affleck to Copeland, December 5, 1865. Copeland was guaranteed \$3 a day as a minimum, but if the expenses of the mills were less than one third of the return, Copeland was to receive the difference up to a third. The shingle mill should be made to pay for all the expenses. No flour and meal was to be sold unless there were a surplus over what was needed on the place.

Glass, iron, wagons, boxes, etc., that were not absolutely necessary for the plantation were to be sold in order to repair the mill.⁶

Some of the neighbors from whom Affleck had borrowed money during the war were offered settlements according to the specie value received from the money. For example, land had been bought from Samuel McPhail for \$6,000. In explaining the situation to McPhail's agent, Affleck wrote that he had paid one half of the sum when he had taken charge of the land and that McPhail had stipulated in the act of sale, in writing, "that the other half should be held for and paid over to him, in interest bearing \$100 Confederate Notes, when he should return me the Deed with his wife's signature. The deed was recorded without her signature & taken by him to Tennessee to have it appended." Affleck had borrowed the \$3,000 at 10 per cent interest to be repaid with cotton at twenty-five cents a pound. This second payment had been held by Affleck until the notes "got down to 10 for one when, having no friend of his to consult, & fearing to lose the entire amount," he sold them. In settlement he would be willing to remit the \$300 that he had realized for a release of the property, or McPhail could refund the original payment of \$3,000 to Affleck's creditor and receive the land back.⁷ In another case Affleck offered to discharge a loan in interest-bearing Confederate notes

⁶ Affleck to wife, December 17, 1865.

⁷ Id. to Meredith, December 5, 1865.

of \$2,900 with interest of \$507.50 at 25 for 1, or \$136.30.⁸ Still another creditor was offered \$406 for an original loan of \$8,700. Whether these offers were satisfactory or not does not appear in the records. There were numerous other debts, but only those were considered that would be most embarrassing to Mrs. Affleck if pressed.⁹

In order to raise money for the trip to Europe, Affleck entered into a contract with Dr. I. A. Winbush to buy and sell cattle. The object was to contract with parties in the North and Europe "to supply them with live beesves & muttons for exportation or to deliver them beef & mutton ready for putting on shipboard." Affleck was "to go to Europe & the North to make such contracts, if possible. Each party bearing an equal share in the expenses incurred thereby. Said Winbush now advancing Four hundred dollase toward his share of said expenses."¹⁰

Of the cotton made at Glenblythe five bales were sold to provide expenses for the trip and to purchase necessities for the plantation.¹¹ Affleck learned on his way to Galveston that the cotton had been seized at Hempstead by the government officials

⁸ Id. to James W. Craig, December 5, 1865.

⁹ See Account Book, 1859-1874, passim.

¹⁰ Original contract, in the Affleck Papers.

¹¹ There had been made on the plantation 20 bales of cotton weighing 10,103 pounds. After the Negroes' share had been deducted, approximately 17 bales averaging 500 pounds were left. This included tolls for ginning. Account Book, 1859-1874, pp. 286-89.

until the 10 per cent tax was paid. Finally, after harsh words with the officials, he was able, through the intercession of friends, to get the cotton to market. It was necessary, however, to promise the payment of one thousand pounds of cotton from that which remained on the plantation.¹² Out of the sale he realized about \$650, but he had to send \$100 home to pay a part of a church debt. Some supplies were also sent to his wife.¹³ Just before he left, he was handed a present from Richardson of the Nama "in return for the service my pen had been to his paper &c." I graciously accepted!¹⁴ Funds for the trip to Europe were sufficient if nothing unforeseen occurred.

When Affleck arrived in Galveston, he found business booming as if there had been no war. While there he entered into another partnership with three prominent business men. Affleck was to be an equal partner, but would have to put up no capital; only his "services on the other side in procuring a partner with capital there" were required. "This will not interfere with my arrangement with Wimbish in the least. No service is required of me on this side. The Dr. & I will most probably not go into barrelling beef, but only the shipping fresh beef & mutton. If

12 Affleck to wife, December 10, 12, 13, 1865.

13 Id. to id., December 12, 1865.

14 Id. to id., December 13, 1865.

we do bbl it will be at Lavaca, & not interfere with matters here. In fact, I intend to make a dead set, at two co-partnerships, one here Galveston & another there Lavaca in barreling beef, & mutton in putting up meat, oysters &c. in cans. I am going to try it, anyhow." His new partners also authorized him to secure if possible the right to make ice in Texas by a new patent process that had been used successfully for some time in New Orleans. Isaac Jalonick, a prominent Galveston merchant, and one of the interested partners "advances the means. Again, I'm willin'! I see to that on my way through New Orleans. Jalonick follows on Sunday. But I expect to go on, & by way of Chicago, to see a packing process & firm there, at Jalonick's suggestion." ¹⁵

Next day he wrote that "More & More business opens up daily. If I do not 'make the spoon' I shall be woefully disappointed. I have letters to two large Irish houses now & for years packing in Cincinnati & Phila. whom I will see." ¹⁶

Thus Affleck left Texas with every hope of success. Richardson of the News had written an editorial concerning the proposed trip, in which he offered his wholehearted support. When Affleck had visited the editor just before departing, he appeared wholly confident of success. The preliminary arrangements for the introduction of immigrants were scheduled for this trip. The editor "cheerfully" admitted that it was the duty of the people of the

¹⁵ Id. to id., December 12, 1865.

¹⁶ Id. to id., December 13, 1865.

state "to accommodate ourselves to the circumstances and necessities surrounding us, and to resort to any possible means to make free negro labor available." But he had little doubt that¹⁷ the attempt was destined to fail.

The planters were faced with ruin, Richardson continued, and could not afford to pay wages. If the military authorities would endeavor to co-operate there might be some hope, but they were not inclined to do so. As a result of the uncertainty, many planters were attempting to rent their plantations to Northerners who were willing to try Negro labor. Therefore, Richardson and the Herald favored the efforts of Affleck and others to introduce white laborers into Texas, "so that we may be provided against the contingency of our having no other labor to depend upon, the consequence of which would be that our country would suffer all the calamities that have followed emancipations in Jamaica and the other West India Islands." He expressed hope that the state convention which was supposed to meet soon would see the importance¹⁸ of encouraging white immigration from all countries.

Affleck left for New Orleans on December 14, 1865. His trip aboard ship to that city was an especially rough one. Letters to

¹⁷ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 18, 1865. "When the Negroes, are told by those they know to be our conquerors and our masters," Richardson warned, "that they are as free as their former masters to do just as they please, and that they ought to have the highest possible wages that can be extorted from our planters under their present embarrassments, and in the absence of all other labor, we cannot expect them to work for such wages as our planters can safely pay."

¹⁸ Ibid.

his wife show that the presence of a number of Yankees and loyal or "professed" southern Unionists contributed to the unpleasantness of the voyage. It appeared to Affleck that the northern "conquerors" could not be expected to treat the South with any sort of justice because they did not know how
19
to be gentlemen.

While in New Orleans he made a "contract" with the ice manufacturing patentees for the purchase of their patent. They offered him the right to use machines at Galveston for \$50,000, and at Austin and San Antonio for \$60,000 each. In writing to Jalenick explaining the necessity of taking immediate advantage of the proposition and of forming a joint-stock company, he said that, "Strangely enough they estimate all these points as of more
20
value than Houston. I did not deceive them." He would rely upon his Texas associates to make the necessary preparations. "At Houston all other points could be supplied. I stipulated that if we bought the right for Houston & a machine for that point, we could buy other machines at the same price, and use them for our own purposes, not sell the ice, at any other points

19 Affleck to wife, December 17, 1865. On board the ship there "was a terrible crowd--some 350 or 400 Yankee soldiers & some 100 cabin passengers, including Yankee officers, Genl. Wesley Merrit & staff....A more lubberly set of low fellows than those officers, it would be difficult to pick up anywhere." The only courtesy that he received on the trip was from a former Confederate officer. The true Southerners "Took no notice of the Yankees whatever."

20 Ibid. Affleck realized the possibilities of Houston as a major city, and many of his later efforts were guided by this fact.

out of such a town as Galveston &c." His plan was to get householders to purchase shares of \$100 for the privilege of purchasing ice for their own use. The ice could be sold to the shareholders at a cheaper rate than to nonshareholders.²¹

From New Orleans Affleck continued up the river to Chicago. He had learned in New Orleans of a successful patent for fruit shipment, and he hoped that this principle could be used in sending beef to Europe. Also there was a possibility that he could interest some of the middlewestern packers who were backed by English and Irish firms. It should not be difficult to convince them that the Southwest was an ideal location for their plants.²²

On the trip up the Mississippi, he noted the attitude of the Negroes toward their new benefactors. They were becoming convinced that it was to their best interest to depend upon their old masters for guidance. He had learned that the Negroes along the river were behaving well. "They already dislike hiring to the Yankee & would rather be with their old Masters or Southern men. They say, so it will be with us ere long." But Affleck doubted it.²³

Affleck met many people who were looking to Texas for their future homes, especially Northerners who had come South since the war. He explained, through the columns of the Galveston News, that

21. Id. to Isaac Jalonick, December 1, 1865.

22. Id. to wife, December 20, 1865.

23. Ibid.; Galveston Daily News, January 3, 1866.

he advised them they could not find a more suitable location

²⁴ for settlement. They had been doubtful of their reception,

but Affleck assured them that their fears were without founda-

²⁵ tion. But this was not the view expressed in his letters to his

wife. He could hardly tolerate the Yankees, and the actions

of the northern soldiers on board ship convinced him that they

²⁶ were a common sort. Affleck went ashore for a time in Memphis,

but soon returned, as the Negro soldiers had been too much for

him. He learned, however, that the planters in the neighborhood

24 Galveston Daily News, January 3, 1866. He "assured them that they were in no danger if they do not carry a chip on their shoulder, defying some to knock it off--'Jeff. Davis must die--rebels, traitors, penalties for treason, equal rights to the loyal citizens of the South.' (the negroes). I told one intelligent gentleman, who proclaimed himself to be a peace democrat from Philadelphia, that we of the South felt ourselves in position of a brave and true man, who, had fought manfully, well, and under every conceivable disadvantage, another of seven or eight times his strength; and who, besides, took every advantage of him--refusing him the usual refreshments of the ring with all the customary aids and encouragements of seconds and bottle-holder, is at length overpowered, knocked down, kicked and trampled on; and a dozen big negroes piled up on top of him! His opponent on the ground, and says, 'here let me help you up--let us be friends--take a drink! And the vanquished is a friend for life.'

25 Ibid., January 3, 12, 1866.

26 In the letter to his wife of December 2, 1865, he expressed his contempt for the ignorance of the soldiers, especially the officers, on board the boat. "What an ordinary set these Yankee officers are! The Col. of the regiment on board...spoke of 'esprit de corps' of his command." See also, the letters to his wife dated December 23, 28, 1865. He had met a Virginian who hated the Yankees with a holy hate, and whom he described as a fine person. The Negro servants on board were very kindly toward the Southerners. One old Negroess expressed pleasure when called "Auntie" and explained: "I'm no lady."

27

were having some success with freedmen.

Affleck saw one of the Nye's Fruit Houses at Chicago and found it very practical for shipping meat. He believed that he could turn a whole ship into a large "~~meat~~ safe." Although he was unable to contact the owner of the patent at the time, he began arrangements for a contract as soon as he had found the necessary capital. He continued to Pittsburgh without further delay. The places that he had known so well when he had first arrived in the United States were now completely unfamiliar. The growth of the northern cities, especially Chicago and Pittsburgh, astonished him greatly. There had been great advancement during the

28

Civil War. He realized now that the North had made five years of immense progress while the South had been going backward. The hurry and bustle worried him considerably; the northern people moved as if business and money-making were the only goals in life.

29

When Affleck arrived in New York, he was surprised to learn of the interest expressed by the northern newspapers in the South, particularly in the opportunities for investment there. Wherever he went, it appears that he was courteously received, and many

27 *Id.* to *id.*, December 24, 1865. The Negroes "In uniform & armed, every where about, keep my blood in a boil. The white Yankees more than simmer."

28 *Id.* to *id.*, December 31, 1865.

29 *Ibid.* Of Pittsburgh, he said, "I may say hundreds of canal boats & barges lay all along the river at Pittsburgh, each a pile of barrels full of Petroleum! It is perfectly astonishing. From the oil regions to the shipping and consuming and rectifying points, they are laying down iron pipes to force the oil through, instead of barreling it and carrying it on R. R. &c."

prominent capitalists conferred with him concerning Texas. At no time, in so far as his personal contacts with northern businessmen were concerned, does there appear to have been any other treatment than that which he would have received before the war. Although papers carried articles concerning the danger of rebellion in the South, the same issues revealed opportunities for investment in the defeated "rebel" states.³⁰ Affleck's letters to his wife indicate that race relations and difficulties with scalawags and carpetbaggers were of slight consequence to the northern businessman. If Affleck's reception, as he reported it, is any guide, there was only the need to convince northern capitalists that a promotional scheme promised profits. Other Southerners expressed the same views.³¹ Charles Congreve offered Affleck the presidency of a proposed railroad from New Orleans to Houston, if the necessary capital could be raised in Europe.³²

Affleck advertised in the New York Herald that he would be glad to consult with all who were interested in investments in Texas and the Southwest. He found it impossible, however, to meet everyone who requested information. His departure for Europe was

³⁰ Affleck to wife, December 27, 1865; Monroe Intelligencer, quoted in Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 27, 1865; St. Louis Republican, quoted in ibid., December 8, 1865; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, January 24, 1866.

³¹ Galveston Daily News, January 12, 1866. A letter from a correspondent in New York to this paper said: "Rebel or not, a Texan is quite a somebody yet in these parts. Colonel Carter Forshey, and Judge Burnet are much the rage at this place." Ibid.

³² Affleck to wife, January 2, 1866. Congreve was at one time a leading capitalist, but he had lost most of his resources during the war, having had heavy investments in the South. Ibid.

hastened by the fact that he could not come to definite arrangements with prospective investors without some official position. Much good advertisement for the South was accomplished, but it would be necessary to have the full co-operation of the Texas government before material accomplishments could be achieved. He reported this to the Galveston News, evidently in the hope that the state would see the value of having a traveling ambassador³³ to create interest in Texas.

Before leaving for Europe on January 6, Affleck contacted certain speculators in Philadelphia who were interested in investing in Texas lands. He assured them that he would arrange matters upon his return so that they could begin speculations.³⁴ He sent a long letter to his wife in which he gave a full report of his progress and his hopes for the future. Businessmen in the North had shown more interest in his proposals than he had expected. He was confident of "establishing ~~two~~ large packing establishments; one near Galveston & another at Indianapolis. I have secured the entire control for Texas & La., of the process described in the pamphlets Nyce's Fruit House³⁵ I send you addressed to Dr. Winbush." Congreve had expressed interest in Texas investments, and had given

33 Galveston Daily News, January 24, 1866.

34 Affleck to wife, January 2, 1866.

35 Congreve had guaranteed the money to pay for the Nyce patent. Id. to id., January 5, 1866.

Affleck letters of introduction to businessmen in England. The right to a meat-preserving patent for the state of Texas had been secured.³⁶ Affleck was so sure that a meat-packing business was going to be successfully instituted that he wrote his son to be frugal in killing hogs that winter as a large number would be needed for breeding purposes. Also, he added, it would not be necessary to worry with the old boiler much longer as he planned to bring a new one from England.³⁷ All the funds that could be raised must be used for the European trip. Copeland, the foreman at the mill, must do the best he could for the present without a belt as there was no money for purchasing it.³⁸

After a very uncomfortable trip, Affleck arrived in Liverpool on January 18. He appeared in England at an opportune time for presenting schemes for investment and emigration. During the fall of 1865 the commerce of England had increased greatly after a period of depression. There was much evidence that if the southern states were brought back into the Union without great difficulty, there would be a further increase in trade with the United States. Unfortunately, the laboring and agricultural classes were not receiving proper benefits from the seeming prosperity in the

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Affleck to Dunbar, January 2, 1866.

³⁸ *Ibid.* to wife, January 5, 1866.

country. There was much discontent, talk of radicalism, and some effort to alleviate hardships through parliamentary action.³⁹

Affleck began work immediately. The day after his arrival he presented letters of introduction to several prominent businessmen and was surprised at the pleasant reception accorded him. He reported that he could contract at once with the Hayman Company for shipping cattle, but "some fools from Texas" had been putting "ideas in their heads in the way of prices, that will require my utmost efforts to undo." He was not willing to touch "anything but a sure thing."⁴⁰ A study of immigration projects as practiced in England was begun. He learned that there were many organizations in the United States and in Europe to help immigrants find new homes. Profit from the enterprises was made either by selling land or by transporting the immigrants.⁴¹

To arouse interest in Texas, Affleck printed a circular describing the resources of the state. The twelve-page pamphlet, Texas and Her Resources, A Few Words to Farmers, Farm-Managers, and Labourers, Who Have a Desire to Better Their Condition by Emigration to a New Country, was issued at his own expense. It

³⁹ J. H. Clapham, An Economic History of Modern Britain, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1932), II, 279 ff., 375-78, 458 ff.; Affleck to wife, January 19, 22, 1866.

⁴⁰ Id. to id., January 19, 1866.

⁴¹ See Affleck Scrapbook, in the Texas State Library, Department of Archives, for information he gathered on the various immigration schemes. A microfilm copy of this book is in the Affleck Papers.

discussed at length the difficulties which the South had undergone, and justified that section's attitude toward the freed Negroes. The opportunities in Texas were presented and compared with those in other places where the emigrants were being encouraged to go. It gave a rather clear picture of the resources and conditions in the state, condemned the North, and pointed out the hardships faced by emigrants who went to sections other than the South.⁴² The pamphlets were scattered to all parts of Scotland⁴³ and England, particularly among clergymen.

One of the first persons to express interest in Affleck's propositions was James Spence, a leading Liverpool businessman who had been a loyal partisan of the South. In 1861 he had published his The American Union, in which he argued that the southern states had a right to secede, and sharply questioned the right of the North to blockade the South. His feelings toward the North had continued unchanged after the war.⁴⁴ Spence informed Affleck that he would lay all his plans, "his sources of information &c. before me...he & the others interested. In fact, dear wife," Affleck added, "I land here & find myself--~~not famous~~--but in a way to be, as I anticipated, useful, & on the way to possible prosperity."⁴⁵

⁴² Copies of this pamphlet are in the Affleck Scrapbook, and in the Affleck Papers.

⁴³ Affleck to wife, February 24, 1866. See also, a copy of a form letter to the clergy, in Affleck Scrapbook.

⁴⁴ James Spence, The American Union; Its Effect on the National Character and Policy, with an Inquiry into Secession as a Constitutional Right, and the Cause of Disruption (London, 1861), passim.

⁴⁵ Affleck to wife, January 19, 1866.

Three days later Affleck was able to report more clearly on prospects, and he was most sanguine. He had found Liverpool a city that appeared to offer much to the enterprising. "The impression made upon me," he wrote, "from the first stop made in Liverpool, is that of the enormous power, durability & stability in everything & everywhere I turned my eyes. Steady, calm, quiet, immense power." There was much less poverty and "evidences of the crime (as the Yankees view it) than I remembered or expected to find."⁴⁶ He had met with a committee organized to establish a line of screw-propeller steamships to Texas. This group composed of "seven of the first merchants of the city--cool, educated, dispassionate men--looked into the whole question coolly & well. They were well pleased with the facts I gave them; & I carefully avoided opinions. The result is, that the formation of the Company will, I am confident, be completed immediately; that I will get the contract, tho' at 20. p head for 500 to 550 lb. beoves; & will have the Agency of ~~The~~ Company in Texas." The agency for the ships in Texas would be controlled by Affleck and Sorley. The Galveston merchant would also be given control of "the Agency of the Hayman Cattle Cos. Ships, if he will divide his Commissions with me, as is often done."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid. to id., January 22, 1866.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Everything seemed to promise success. In England the reindeer pest, an infectious bacillary disease, was destroying the cattle; conditions among the laboring class, pitiful at best, were made worse by the scarcity of meat. As their plight grew worse, the demand for foreign supplies increased, by laborers and employers alike. There was much interest in

⁴⁸ emigration. Affleck had conferred with his uncle, a very solid and capable businessman, who agreed that the emigration and shipping ventures would probably meet with success. The legislature of Texas must be convinced of the efficacy of the plans, and Affleck began to send information concerning his progress to his friend John Sayles. Affleck wished to be appointed to an official position, preferably as commissioner
⁴⁹ of immigration.

On February 3, Affleck wrote his wife, explaining his hopes for success. "I am, today, to be informed of all the working machinery of the Great Emigration schemes that are carried out here; & the ways in which they are made to pay, explained to me. I already see my way clearly for inducing the State to aid in it. And have no doubt of being sent here, for a couple of years to carry it out....A very pretty penny--I will not say fortunes--is made here, by parties who have not the means of carrying it
⁵⁰ through or benefiting by it on both sides, that I will have."

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; Clapham, *Economic History of Modern Britain*, III, 375.

⁴⁹ Affleck to wife, January 22, 1866.

⁵⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, February 3, 1866.

Not only was there to be traffic in immigrants and in cattle, but he had no doubt of inducing "parties to go into the shipping of fresh meat; curing with salt in barrels, & canned meats, fish, oysters & Turtles. By which I shall realize one way or another."⁵¹ While developing all these prospects, it was necessary for him to pause and explain to his wife, as he had had to do many times in the past, that he was not entering upon too much.⁵² The losses from the cattle plague continued to increase, making it almost vital that Texas livestock be introduced into England. "The country is greatly alarmed & with good cause." With the immigration project in mind, he added, "The peasantry & operatives are dissatisfied, & have an almost universal desire to emigrate. Ships & steamers are idle & their owners want to employ them." He had been consulted by a representative of a New Orleans to England Steamship line that was anxious to take advantage of any emigration to Texas. The company was willing to give a

⁵¹ Id. to Id., February 3, 4, 1866.

⁵² Id. to Id., February 4, 6, 1866. "Don't fear, dear wife," he wrote, "I will not engage in too much. But will stick to the immigration matter myself. And sell to others my share in other enterprises, so soon as under way. Or retain an interest & inactive partnership as the agreed upon result of my finding the parties here, & putting the business agoing. I will be guided by you in this whole matter. And rest assured I will not incur debts of any kind." And again next day he was writing with the same idea in mind; he must convince himself while convincing his wife that his projects were sound. "Do not fear," he wrote, "that I shall undertake too much! I will try a good many enterprises here--try to start them. So that if one fails, another may succeed. But I think they will all go on. Providence seems to have made several openings for me & Texas."

year's credit for the passage money, Affleck reported, but on condition that "the state will give us the power to place State Bonds in their hands as collateral security for its part. And I think that this may be done. In fact I am sure I can effect it."⁵³

Affleck was extremely busy every minute of the time that he was in England. Besides circulating pamphlets, he wrote numerous letters to the papers, many of which were printed with favorable editorial remarks which pointed out the varied resources of Texas and the inducements offered both to immigrants and to capital.⁵⁴ The Edinburgh Courant, in noticing the arrival of Affleck, had already said that "The Southern planters have profited by our errors. They know, from the example of the West Indies, that simply to free the negro is to abandon him to the worst slavery of his own brute laziness and passions, and to expose to the risk of ruin any land which has no alternative but to employ him for the brief period which he chooses to work. So they are organizing a measure which will supersede him, and will reduce him to a position compared with which slavery was a paradise." "There is a conservative method of making reforms," the Courant continued, "and there is a radical mode of making them. In this case, the Radicals dealt with slavery as they dealt with everything else. They went for its

⁵³ Id. to id., February 4, 1866.

⁵⁴ See Affleck Scrapbook, passim, for clippings from British papers.

unconditional abolition, and have simply ruined the object of their sympathy." The paper added that Texas was a very desirable location for the Scotch who were planning to emigrate, and "The project represented by Mr. Affleck had much⁵⁵ to recommend it."

In a letter to the London Times Affleck indicated how Great Britain and Texas would be aided by his efforts. After explaining that his home state could furnish needed supplies for Britain, he continued: "My errand here is to do anything and everything possible to aid our noble state to recover from the effects of the cruel act of immediate emancipation of the slave. We want labor, and must have it. We will gladly relieve you of your plethora of population here; will give them good and profitable labor. We have never, as yet had a suffering poor. No beggars, no children crying for bread, no starving paupers. Aid us in sharing of abundance with the suffering poor among you. I will gladly point out how it can be done. Texas possesses the richest lands in the largest extent, with the greatest diversity of products, with the most delightful⁵⁶ and healthy climate on the Globe."

⁵⁵ Edinburgh Courant, quoted in Galveston Tri-Weekly News, March 26, 1866. Clippings from the European papers seem to have been sent to several papers by Affleck. See Dallas Herald, March 24, 1866; New Orleans Picayune, March 15, 20, 1866, for other excerpts from his letters to the British papers.

⁵⁶ London Times, February 10, 1866, quoted in Galveston Daily News, March 18, 1866; Dallas Herald, March 24, 1866; New Orleans Picayune, March 15, 1866.

During early February Affleck was traveling between Liverpool, Dumfries, London, and intermediate points, searching for information and making acquaintances in the business world. His mind was torn between worry about affairs at home and elation over the outlook for success in his new enterprises. The reports from his wife presented a very dreary picture, but Affleck could only write that "I dare neither think nor write, darling wife, of your predicament at home. I can only trust to God & your own good management & the Dr.s' & the boys. I cannot aid you until my return." His hope was that soon they would all be able to remove from Washington County and away from free Negroes. It would be necessary for him to be in England much of the time for the next few years, and they could establish a home there.⁵⁷

On February 7 Affleck again attempted to allay his wife's anxiety. "I fear you will be impatient like myself for something certain!" he wrote. "But, as yet, I cannot say I have secured it. Everything goes on slowly here. But--I shall not only contract with the Liverpool Cattle Transit Co., but with the National Meat Co here. I have put another Co under way to buy wool in Texas. Am to meet the parties tomorrow, again."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Affleck to wife, February 4, 1866. See also, id. to id., March 29, 30, April 8, 1866.

⁵⁸ Id. to id., February 7, 1866.

After a short trip to London to see a number of business-
 men who were interested in his business propositions,⁵⁹ Affleck
 returned to Dumfries on February 13 to meet with the people who
 had expressed an interest in the immigration scheme. On the first
 day of the meetings, which he planned to hold more or less regu-
 larly until he left, he received "At least 200...To each lot of
 about 25, I gave about 20 minutes." The next day there were
 "over 500 actually by count! All steady, sturdy, good-looking
 Scotch farmers & laborers, with a sprinkling of women. I can get
 all we can employ & carry out! Not a few farmers who can carry
 a few hundred pounds with them."⁶⁰ And two days later, although
 the number of enquirers had declined somewhat, he had "some 75
 callers, but most of them a good class of small tenant farmers;
 who see nothing but ruin here, from high rents, reinderpest &c."⁶¹
 During these meetings Affleck became more convinced that there
 must be state aid if the full promise of the situation were to be
 realized. Prominent men must help him to get the necessary authori-
 ty from the state, and must understand that it was to the mutual
 advantage of all. Much of the information that he sent to his
 wife was, therefore, directed to be forwarded to various key

⁵⁹ *Id.* to *id.*, February 16, 1866.

⁶⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, February 14, 1866. See an Immigrant Memorandum, in Affleck Papers, which lists over a hundred of the best prospects con-
 sulted.

⁶¹ Affleck to wife, February 16, 1866.

persons in business and politics. A commission of three men should be appointed by the government, one of whom would be Affleck, "to induce & carry out a system of Emigration, managed by me on this side, and by the other two on that side; & give the commission the use of say a million ~~in~~ⁱⁿ state Bonds, on which to raise money to advance to those emigrants requiring to have part or all of their passage paid; holding the parties hiring them, as also the immigrants themselves; not individually only, but in groups of families, friends & relatives, collectively bound for each other. I am confident a vast emigration can be induced of the most useful class of people in Eng. & Scotland & the Continent." Affleck was preparing a plan, "with ample data, & think it can be made to work. ~~There is not a question~~⁶² of my getting as many to go, of a good class, including most excellent house servants, as we can find means to carry."

The report to his wife informed her that "Everyone says, that the agent of no other Emigration scheme stands any chance with me! And I don't intend they shall. All I want is control of some funds, to help over Emigrants; & these I feel confident of getting from the state; unless the Yankees keep us out of any & all state Government. And, in that case, land-owners must come forward." At the same time he had "a ~~prodigious~~⁶³ pile of letters, from all classes in England and Scotland, to lay before the Legislature &c."

⁶² *Ibid.*; Immigrant Memorandum Book.

⁶³ Affleck to wife, February 24, 1866. See also, copy of letter to the clergy, in Affleck Scrapbook.

Affleck continued to meet with every encouragement in his relations with businessmen and capitalists. His favorable reception was attributed to the feeling in England for the South. This was in part due to the northern business practices, he believed, and also to the close relations of England with the South. Northern businessmen, according to Affleck, were "cutting their own throats" by the attitude they were expressing toward the English.⁶⁴ Spence had been of great assistance in introducing him to others who expressed interest in making investments and who advised on the best approach to make. Affleck's letters to the papers had attracted so much attention that he found it impossible to answer all inquiries.⁶⁵ A Mr. J. Van Abbot, who represented a London cattle importing company, had written to inquire about the prospects for getting supplies in Texas.⁶⁶ Affleck replied that "The entire success of your company will depend upon the management on the other side (Texas). I do not say this alone to induce you to contract with me." Although he would be glad to join with them and take an interest in the company, he had no cash to invest. He and his partners

⁶⁴ Affleck to wife, March 15, 1866.

⁶⁵ He had published a notice in the London Times that he would be there and would be glad to make appointments during February 11 and 12. Affleck to wife, February 14, 1866. He received "such a number of letters & had so many callers, in reply to my letter to the Times, which was republished in other papers, that I had not a moment to myself. All classes & with all sorts of views."

⁶⁶ See Affleck Scrapbook for a pamphlet concerning Abbot's company.

were fully prepared to carry out such an enterprise if their way could be seen clearly. Affleck would be willing to return to London and aid them in their organization, but he could not "afford to incur any expenses not very sure to lead to good results." ⁶⁷ At this time Liebig's "Extract of Beef" was being

promoted by Abbot, and it was natural that Affleck should be- ⁶⁸
come interested in the process.

From February 14 through March 3, 1866, Affleck remained at his Uncle Alexander Hannay's at Dumfries, where he could save on expenses while waiting for the proposed projects to materialize. The Liverpool Cattle Transit and Traffic Company, which was being organized with Hayman as secretary, continued to attract his attention, but there was considerable doubt that it would be successfully launched. Several important businessmen were interested ⁶⁹ in the project, but Hayman had become less friendly toward Affleck. This change in attitude was brought about largely by the influence of one of the Bradys of Houston, who had arrived in Liverpool. Affleck had gone ahead with the project that the Houstonians had begun, and they were angry at his actions. Although the Bradys had not shown much interest in the enterprise in the beginning,

67 Affleck to J. Van Abbot, February 17, 1866.

68 Id. to wife, February 18, 1866.

69 Id. to id., February 20, 1866.

they now expressed a concern and promised low-priced beef.⁷⁰

Sometime during the latter part of February, 1866, Affleck became acquainted with Henry Lafone at Liverpool. It appears that Lafone was for a time interested in the Cattle Transit and Traffic Company, but had decided that Affleck's proposals were worth increased attention. Affleck and Lafone seem to have been two of a kind. Lafone had grandiose ideas, and the greater the plans the keener his interest. The Englishman had been connected with blockade-running during the Civil War and had for a time realized huge profits, but had met with heavy losses when several of his ships had been seized or sunk near the close of the conflict.⁷¹ His business had been of such importance, however, that under ordinary circumstances he could have carried out important undertakings. It is impossible to reach a definite conclusion as to the condition of Lafone's business affairs in 1865, for at the beginning of Affleck's negotiations the people of Liverpool gave excellent recommendations concerning his standing, but soon afterward he was unable to meet his obligations. From this it

⁷⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, February 24, 1866. "It takes time to move here. I cannot hurry matters, do what I will. Several companies are being formed for packing & importing meats. They all look to me & to Texas. Hayman writes me, recd. today, 'our board now complete, & we will have steam up directly.' But, I am sorry, to say, that though I have all confidence in the Company, in its being carried out, & in my getting the contract (tho' one of the Brady's is here, in Liverpool) I have little faith in Hayman. He fears my influence, however, & will not dare to try to throw me overboard. I could kill the enterprise, so far as he is concerned."

⁷¹ See pp. 402-409.

would appear that, unknown to his business associates, he was in bad financial straits. It was only when the crash came in 1866 that his true condition was learned.⁷²

Affleck's proposals appear to have been enthusiastically received by Lafont after he was informed of their ramifications. Possibly this could be explained from the fact that he had an idle ship in harbor.⁷³ On March 3 Affleck wrote that "I have brought one of the first business men in the City, & with ample means, the owner of this ship, the Pacific, to the point of an agreement, almost....He makes no objection to a company, to be composed of he & I.; with a Capital of \$60,000 (\$300,000) of which he puts in \$40,000. in money; & I \$20,000 in skill, knowledge, & in establishing the business. I do not yet know that we will complete it; but do verily believe I shall, upon this or equally good terms."⁷⁴ According to the tentative agreement the Texan was to obtain a body of land on Galveston Island, or on the mainland nearby, to the value of some \$20,000 to \$50,000. This was to be laid out in a town and lots sold to immigrants occupied in various enterprises.⁷⁵ Affleck believed that with the backing of this new partner all of his hopes were assured of success.⁷⁶

⁷² Affleck to wife, February 27, March 5, 1866, et seq. See pp. 381-82.

⁷³ Id. to id., February 27, 1866.

⁷⁴ Id. to id., March 3, 1866.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.; id. to id., March 4, 1866.

After Affleck had found someone who believed in the feasibility of his plans, he allowed himself to imagine the profits that could be made. There appears a sureness of tone in his letters that had not been present before. He explained to his wife, however, that he had been extremely careful in all the promises and information that he had given. In the future he would continue to be more cautious and more explicit in his writing and conversations.

77

Relations with Lafone proceeded favorably. A prominent Liverpool cotton merchant, a Mr. Titherington, at one time wished to enter into the proposed partnership, but Lafone thought the outlook so promising that he would not allow Affleck to enter into an agreement with anyone else unless it was in some subsidiary organization. Others expressed interest, but all of them

78

77 Ibid. to id., March 4, 1866. Some idea of his enthusiasm may be noted by the following excerpt: "I am arranging here--a preliminary, that I may know what to propose to the Cattle Co:--with the Chief Emigration Agent, to manage all the business at this point; giving a share, from 1/4 to 1/3.d of the Commissions allowed by the ships. In this instance, I must have all my outlay prepaid--my own expenses, printing, postages &c., and £ per year. If I get 100, then I would probably make no claim for expenses. Some such terms as these. When the ships ran regularly, say once a week, & carry each say 500 to 700 passengers, it will pay well. The more as I shall also make the state & land-owners pay; & persons wanting hands to be selected by me."

78 Ibid. The plans had caused his son Dunbar some worry, and the note he added to this letter was aimed to allay these fears. "Dunbar must cast aside the effect of the silly novel he read, about some spooney who was known only, in the fashionable world, as the son of an & an's Pickles! We can also assume for the Co: the title of 'Galveston Meat-preserving Co.', or something of that kind." Pride was going to have to suffer in favor of getting funds for the family.

were made to understand that they could not enter into the enterprises on an equal basis with Affleck and Lafone.⁷⁹

On March 10 Affleck reported that the Pacific would depart for the United States within a month, and that he and Lafone had positively come to an agreement. Two days later Affleck was highly elated when he wrote: "Bureeka! old lady--Bureeka! I have done it! Closed with Mr. Lafone alone--he declines letting Mr. Titherington into the ~~during~~ business, & puts in \$10,000 (\$50,000) in cash against my time &c. And we think Mr. Titherington will join us in the purchase & improvement of a body of land on the Island or at Dickenson's Bayou....The Pacific is being got ready, & will be placed in my hands!...I see my way now, clearly--& thank God for it....Mr. Lafone is a large shipowner. He will give me a written assurance, that if the Mchts. of Galveston &c. will assure him of their loading, direct from Liverpool, he will, this coming fall put on a fortnightly line of screw propellers, fine new ships, built for the purpose. Of which A. & Lafone of Galveston will be agents of course." Affleck was convinced that now he would be in a position to do more for Texas and the South than he had ever imagined could be possible.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Id. to id., March 4, 5, 8, 10, 1866.

⁸⁰ Id. to id., March 12, 1866.

People had been so kind to Affleck and so interested in the problems of the South that he knew some official position for him from the state would guarantee unlimited help from England. "There is a strong feeling of desire to aid, & to invest, & even to speculate, in the South," he concluded⁸¹ after having met many prominent men in Britain. Other seemingly plausible information that he gathered was that the cotton millers and shippers were worried for fear the South would not be able to furnish a sufficient supply of cotton with freed labor. Affleck wrote to his wife that "They begin to be satisfied of the fact here, that the Negroes will not make crops & Cotton is going up pretty fast. If the proof is clear, that nothing like full crops will be made by free negroes, funds can easily be had here, to grow cotton by white labour." Affleck was doing his best to convince the businessmen that present labor conditions could not supply the necessary crops for English mills.⁸²

Plans were completed by Lafont and Affleck during the latter part of March. After the tentative agreement had been made, but before the formal contract had been signed, Affleck ended his relations with the Hayman company. He informed them, however,

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² See letter of Affleck to Edinburgh Courant, February 26, quoted in the Galveston Tri-Weekly News, March 23, 1866.

that they would be considered further when they showed their
 89
 sincerity by raising money.

On April 7 the final agreement was signed. Lafone and Affleck agreed to form a partnership for the purpose in "the first instance of preserving for sale in Tin cans and otherwise Beef, Mutton, Game Poultry, Fish, Oysters, Turtle, Vegetables, Fruits and so forth and to make pickles sauces &c." Lafone was to furnish all capital and machinery, and Affleck to "represent his half and equal interest gives his time and services in the establishment and management of the business, selects a location for the works...and contracts for and has the necessary building erected, devoting his best effort and time to properly establish, develop and carry on the business economically and prudently. In selecting a location for the works he will have an eye to the effect which such a concern and of the Town which will grow up for the work people must necessarily have on the future increased value of the land immediately around them and make such a selection and purchase as would in his view thus yield a profitable result to the concern, the future enhancement in value and other profits which may thus rise to be equally divided between the said parties. A body of timbered land and such oyster banks and fishing grounds as he may consider indispensable to the

83 Affleck to wife, March 14, 1866.

carrying on of the works as also a lot or lots for a sale-room and Warehouse in Galveston may also be purchased after consultation and approval by...Henry Lafone." They were to share equally all requisites and increment, as well as all profits and commissions arising from the sale of articles manufactured by the company. Further, if Affleck were successful in getting enough business promises to make it profitable to put on a regular line of steamships between Liverpool and Galveston or other southern ports, they would share the profits. But if Affleck were able to get the state of Texas or "private citizens to make valuable concessions calculated to induce the said Henry Lafone or others to put on a line of ships to ply between Great Britain and Texas he shall be at liberty to stipulate for and secure to himself any advantage that may occur from such concessions or bourses." The money earned by the company for the first two years was to be put back into the business. After that time the returns were to be divided equally after the shares put in by each should have been deducted. In order to protect Lafone, it was stipulated that the land purchased for the works be conveyed "to the said Henry Lafone...during the duration of the copartnership but at the end of that term the said land and other property...shall become...joint property...the said Henry Lafone receiving back such amount of the capital originally put in by him as may have

been expended in buildings machinery and apparatus and which may then exist." But the property subsequently purchased should be the joint property of the partners. The two men were to have control of the business on their respective sides of the ocean, but were to keep each other informed of the actions by the other, and, in case of disagreement, there was to be a decision by the two.⁸⁴

Meanwhile, on March 14, a definite agreement had been concluded with Robert Gay, plant superintendent and meat preserver for the National Meat Company. This contract, which was formally signed on March 27, provided that Gay would be under contract for two years. He was to secure the best hands where he was then working and also what other workers would be needed for properly running the provision company in Texas. His salary on a half-pay basis was to begin at once, and he was to oversee the purchase and shipment of the necessary machinery.⁸⁵

Thus Affleck had concluded a contract for what appeared to be an immensely promising enterprise. Capital, ships, machinery, and labor were to be provided. When he had tried to get others to support a line of ships for transporting livestock, Lafone promised to use his steamer, the Pacific, for that purpose also. As Affleck explained to his wife, he had carried

⁸⁴ Agreement between Affleck and Lafone, April 17, 1866.

⁸⁵ Affleck to wife, March 14, 27, 1866.

this out by a rather clever move. "Today March 20...I wrote a note to the Secretary of the Company [the Hayman Company], intended to draw out Lafone (this, entre nous) and it had the effect! I proposed to get up a Company to import young cattle & sheep, & to show a good margin of profit. I handed it to Mr. Lafone--who owns the ship proposed to be sent. I claimed, if a company was got up, that I should have the control of the enterprise, & the agency of the ship on both sides, with a fair commission for buying the stock and putting them on board. Mr. Lafone read it, folded it up, & put it in his pocket! saying, very earnestly--'No, no--let the Company alone--I will put on the Pacific--and will make better terms with you than you ask--don't go home yet, but remain & help me through it--the Company will come to our terms. If they do not, I will still send the ship. She shall be the "point of the wedge", as you aptly express it. I can find loading for her here, & you can secure even a few emigrants. And if, she does not bring cattle, she can go to New Orleans for her back cargo, over what you may secure for her in Calveston.'"

The cotton merchant, Titherington, who seems to have had considerable capital, was offered another proposition. Affleck explained that he and Lafone were "anxious to induce them

⁸⁶ Id. to id., March 20, 1866. See also, id. to id., March 14, 1866.

[Fitherington and other wealthy merchants] to form a Company, & purchase a large tract of land near Galveston; lay off a suburb, & build on it, for our works & others of a like nature, cottages for the work hands, warehouses &c., all for rent & speculation on the rise of the value of the lots." Canals, warehouses, and other improvements were to be built to enhance the value of the land. The Galveston men who were to go into the packing of meat in salt were to be encouraged to place their factory on these lands. Profits from the land would be divided equally among the Englishmen and Affleck.⁸⁷ In connection with the proposition, it is interesting to note how Affleck could still figure to make a larger profit than the others after all. He explained to his wife that "If I can induce them to make such a purchase on Galveston Island, I can secure a slice of it, on my own terms, from the sellers [sic]. Or if on Dickenson's Bayou, I can do the same thing there. If I can induce them to put up Brick works, send out an Architect, builders &c., we can have a home built to our mind, & that cheaply & well."⁸⁸

Seeking control of the brickworks, Affleck made inquiries concerning a patented brick that was being made in England. He

⁸⁷ Id. to id., March 14, 1866.

⁸⁸ Ibid.; id. to id., March 20, 1866.

learned that someone already controlled the patent in Texas,
 but that this hurdle could be overcome easily as the man who
 owned it would never be able to accomplish anything without
 39
 Affleck's help.

Another scheme which Affleck spent much time studying
 was the culture of oysters. Lafone was also interested in
 the subject and was willing to underwrite the expense of send-
 ing trained men to Texas to try it out. Affleck learned that
 such work was being successfully practiced on the coasts of
 France and was being tried in England. There was no reason why
 90
 this could not be made an adjunct of their enterprise in Texas.

It is not surprising that Affleck wrote to his wife that
 "I am positively astonished at the influence I have been able
 to exact here. The fact is, I am in earnest. And that suits
 John Bull!" After a very long letter in which he summarized
 the plans that he had in mind for himself and others, he added:
 "I know, dear wife, you will say, 'too many irons again!' Well
 perhaps so. But, I have backing here, in men who are willing to
risk their money! And John Bull does not do that hurriedly, I
 assure you! I devote myself to the packing-house, & to supplying
 it with what it needs. But, if I can make these suggestions to
 others, pay co-latterly [sic], why not? If there were not in the

89 *Id.* to *id.*, March 14, 1866. See Affleck Scrapbook for pamphlets
 on oyster culture.

90 Affleck to wife, March 14, 1866.

world [sic] to suggest plans & improvements, none would be entered into or carried out. I cannot help these thoughts arising. I don't ~~think~~ ⁹¹ think that ~~and~~ they come of themselves. I only explain things thus to you." There was no greater truth ever spoken by Affleck.

Before he left for Texas, a sheep importation scheme originated by him had failed because he was not on hand to ⁹² explain the merit of his plan when objections were raised. Although he had intended to stay in England until the first of May, he found that if his proposals were to materialize, organization on the other side of the ocean must begin. Therefore, on April 7 Affleck left for home to see that the people of the state were supplied with proper information. As he explained it: "If I can only influence the legislature, as I have cautious Merchants here, I can put on a fine line of screw steamers, in which I will have a large interest. And I shall ask nothing unreasonable, or which they should not at once grant. I shall only ask what this and other Govts. are granting, & which is producing all the good results expected. Large ships are going out to all the colonies loaded with Emigrants. And Ireland is literally being depopulated! I can get ⁹³ as many Scotch & English as can be carried out."

91 Id. to Id., March 14, 21, 1866.

92 Id. to Id., March 14, April 2, 1866.

93 Id. to Id., March 29, 1866.

Before Affleck left England, he received many gracious remarks concerning his work. According to his reports, James Spence, who had been so kind and helpful all during the sojourn there, said, "You have won golden opinions on all hands here. The vigorous energy & large intelligence you have displayed have produced an impression such, that if you return with powers & materials, I believe you will carry out any plan you undertake." And another prominent merchant, a Mr. Higgens to whom Charles Congreve of New York had sent a letter of introduction for Affleck, advised: "Bring over the plans you propose, & with the same clear showing you have made as to these matters of which we had a knowledge & could judge, & I will join you in them to a very liberal extent; & can & will aid you with others." And Titherington, who had not agreed with Affleck on all his propositions, promised to have "business transactions with me; being satisfied that I would carry them through to a successful issue." It is no wonder that Affleck should state that Liverpool was a great city and England a wonderful country. "If the Yankees know when they are well off, they will let England alone. She is a fearful power to cope with." Although the Texan felt nothing but hatred for the Yankees, he reported that he was doing everything in his power "to bring about and maintain a friendly relation with...the United States. The sympathies & kind feelings & wishes of the people were with...the South throughout, & are with us now. I meet it everywhere & amongst all classes. My own letters

are quoted all over the island. I have been very careful to say nothing the enemy could lay hold of; but at the same time have shown the advantage to both England & the South, of intimate commercial relations."⁹⁴

England and its merchants were in the mood to receive speculative plans, for they had experienced some hard times in the past, and troubles on the continent made them look to America and especially to the South for investment openings. The South doubtless offered great opportunity for a capital outlet, if it could be shown that political conditions there were such as to make investments safe. Certainly if the experience of Affleck can serve as a guide, the only major deterrents to large investments would be the lack of dependable governments and of the assurance that the support of the states themselves would be forthcoming. Affleck's task was to get his state government to show its desire to secure aid from England and to prove that investments in the state would be protected. These capital transfers would encourage immigration. Already it was materializing; so there seems to have been a real possibility that a successful movement to the South could be carried out if there were proper management on the part of individuals and governments.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Id. to Id., March 30, 1866.

⁹⁵ Clapham, Economic History of Modern Britain, II, 375; Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission, in Senate Documents, 61 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 747, pp. 25, 81. See also, Affleck Scrapbook for pamphlets concerning immigration.

LABOR PROBLEMS IN TEXAS IN EARLY 1866 AND AFFLECK'S PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES

The history of the Freedmen's Bureau in Texas, as in some other states, is the story of an organization which rendered some genuine service, despite corruption and gross mismanagement. The Bureau, headed by the honest and humane General O. O. Howard, contained many subordinates who were ignorant of local conditions and unable to deal with the public satisfactorily. Apparently the capacities of the officials varied widely from section to section. Certainly reports from various parts of Texas ranged from complete satisfaction to thorough condemnation. Opinion in places shifted from time to time, sometimes rapidly. Although the personnel of the Bureau was responsible for these variations in most cases, there were other explanations in some instances and no explanation at all in others.¹

¹ The newspapers of the period during Affleck's absence show the varying opinions concerning the work of the Bureau and the effects of its action. It is impossible to make accurate generalizations about the work and reception of the Bureau in Texas, as the evidence gathered from the newspapers is often contradictory. Most of the news concerning the Negroes came from correspondents, and the editors seem to have based their conclusions in relation to the general work of the Bureau upon specific instances of good or bad work reported. During December, 1865, until Christmas, the reports were more favorable. There was not unanimous agreement, however, that Gregory, despite his speeches, was trying to aid both the Negroes and the planters. New Orleans Picayune, December 3, 7, 10, 16, 20, 1865. The Picayune for this period carried much news from Texas. A letter in the Galveston Tri-weekly News, December 8, 1865, written by T. L. Hughes, a prominent Brazoria County planter, condemned completely the actions of the Bureau in his section. See ibid., and Houston Telegraph, December 1, 1865, at seq. See also James G. Randall, The Civil War and Reconstruction (New York, 1937), 731-33.

After Christmas, 1865, general apprehension was expressed in the newspapers concerning the Negroes and the Freedmen's Bureau. It was reported from Washington County, "the most populous and richest in the state, [that] the majority of the planters have their season's work completed, but they are discouraged about the next year because it is so difficult to get negro labor under the present system."² According to the New Orleans Picayune, "The majority of negroes [in Texas] have left the plantations and started for towns and cities. Many planters have rented out their land, and very little cotton will be planted this season. Some planters want to hire negro field hands at high wages," but they were having little success.³ Doubtless the widespread rumor that there was going to be a division of property at Christmas⁴ was in no small part to blame for the attitude of the colored population. When they had been disappointed at Christmas-time, they became sullen and obstinate. The Galveston News on January 16 carried an editorial asking the government of the United States to send down a number of abolitionists to "nurture" the Negroes--the editor was through with them and believed that he was in agreement with the majority of people in the state.⁵ The Negroes would not work, and the Bureau would do nothing to help the situation.⁶ And

² New Orleans Picayune, December 27, 1865. On January 5 and 12, 1866, in ibid., there appeared contrary views, but the majority of correspondents to the newspapers showed that there was great dissatisfaction.

³ Ibid., January 19, 1866.

⁴ Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 75.

⁵ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, January 16, 1866.

⁶ Galveston Daily News, January 12, 16, 1866.

the Galveston paper reported that there was a considerable feeling that the only solution was to get white labor.⁷

During the early part of February the reports concerning the labor situation indicated that in certain sections work was progressing better than in others. For example, on February 1 the New Orleans Picayune quoted the Waco Register to the effect that "Freedmen who are under contract are getting down to business, the crops are fine, and Waco is flourishing."⁸ And the Houston Telegraph of the same period related that, "There are very few negroes being seen around idle. Most of them were glad to return to the plantation life."⁹ But at the same time there was a very bitter discussion going on between David G. Burnet, former president of the Republic, and General Gregory. Burnet had accused Gregory of "inspiring negroes with false notions, assessing monthly contributions on the poor negroes, etc." Elsewhere dissatisfaction with Gregory's actions was increasing.¹⁰ In the Guadalupe Valley, where Affleck hoped later to settle immigrants, it was reported that "At least 1/2 the lands...will not be brought into cultivation for the want of the necessary amount of labor. The negroes have either squatted about on the sandy-up lands or removed to other countries."¹¹

7 Ibid., January 16, 27, 1866.

8 New Orleans Picayune, February 1, 1866.

9 Quoted in ibid.

10 Ibid., February 7, 1866. Gregory pronounced the statements made by Burnet false; they appear to have been so since there was no proof forthcoming.

11 Gonzales Inquirer, quoted in ibid.

For some reason not wholly clear, the reports in the Galveston News by the middle of February began to picture the labor conditions in a more favorable light than previously.¹² And by March 17 the Picayune carried a note from its Texas correspondent to the effect that nearly all the cotton plantations were under cultivation, most of them with a fair amount of labor. Some planters were speaking of favorable prospects and of the good conduct of the Negroes. The black labor had agreed generally to rules for efficient work. The squad system, reminiscent of slave times, was being generally practiced. Fearing accidents, it was concluded, there would be nearly a full crop of cotton.¹³ The Picayune stated on April 5 that the next harvest in Texas would be greater than ever before. The Negroes were doing well, and business in general was reacting favorably to the good prospects. The cotton looked better than anyone could have expected.¹⁴

The reports in the Galveston News, however, gave none of the credit to the work of the Bureau. Instead, it said that organization was hinder-

¹⁵ For example, Galveston Tri-Weekly News, April 16, 1866. Most of the work of the Negro correspondence was directed to former President Burnet, who appears to have been that the Bureau was not allowing the freedmen to follow their own inclination, to return to the old masters, who would

¹² See Galveston Daily News, February 14, 18, 21, 23, 1866.

¹³ See Galveston Daily News, February 14, 18, 21, 23, 1866.

¹⁴ See New Orleans Picayune, March 17, 20, 1866.

¹⁵ For example, Galveston Tri-Weekly News, April 16, 1866. Most of the correspondence was directed to former President Burnet, who had expressed the view that President Johnson was anxious to help Southerners right the wrongs done.

give them a fair contract. On March 30 General Gregory was replaced by General J. B. Kiddoo, a change which most Texans viewed with deep satisfaction. Gregory, primarily as a result of his connection with this obnoxious organization, had lost the respect of most of the people of the state, and they had come to feel that any change must be for the better. As expressed by the Galveston News, "the great majority of the people of Texas will be abundantly delighted to hear of his removal."¹⁶

In a letter written soon after his return from Europe, Affleck seems to have given a rather fair summary of the conditions and of the attitude of a majority of Texas planters. "The negroes have done better in contracting than was expected. And, where there was no Freedmen's Bureau near; or where the officer in command of that humbug & foul job, could be safely bribed or scared into some good common sense course, the negroes have worked better than was expected." "But," he added, "my opinion of the final results is unchanged--Cotton cannot be grown to any great & successful extent by free negro labor. In Texas they will make a large crop--the negroes are subordinate; the Yankee does not like to risk much away from the forts; the lands have been in regular cultivation during the war, & are under fence & need no reclaiming; there is plenty of team, & of food for man & beast; and, above all, plenty of fresh cotton seed. Then there is a large amount

¹⁶ Galveston Daily News, April 6, 1866.

of white labor applied to Cotton growing. And, the season thus
 17
 far has been a very favorable one."

The political affairs of the state had been comparatively well regulated under the direction of Governor Hamilton, and there had been a minimum of conflict between the military and civil authorities. There were, of course, some difficulties in deciding jurisdictional questions. When conflicts arose, they were caused by some minor matter such as the mere presence of Negro troops in a locality. Hamilton, however, had acted judiciously, and amicable relations had been generally kept between him, the military authorities, and the people. As soon as a sufficient number of voters had registered, the Governor, with his desire to restore the state to normalcy, called on November 15 an election, to be held on January 8, 1866, for delegates to a constitutional convention. He had been accused of using his position to keep himself in power, but this action showed that
 18
 there was little justification for the charge.

There was considerable interest in the election. When it was clear that conservative men would hold the balance of power between the radicals on the Unionist side and the extremists among the former Confederates, there was not a great deal of discussion in the work

17 Affleck to Lafone, May 7, 1866. See also Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 27, 1866.

18 Houston Telegraph, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, January 2, 1866.

of the convention.¹⁹ The principal debate in the convention was over the "ab initio" resolution concerning secession. This discussion tended to solidify the factions into radical and conservative, or those who were in favor of a more radical rule in the state and those who wished to return the power to the people regardless of their former political and military sympathies. Little bitterness was engendered in the convention for the remission of debts and this section of the constitution was adopted with little difficulty. It met with keen criticism from the newspapers, however, and especially from those which spoke for the districts interested in foreign trade. The convention agreed on certain guarantees to the Negroes, including security of "property and person," and the right of testimony in cases involving persons of their own race. There was no concerted move to accord the Negro the right to vote; on this point both the radicals and conservatives appeared to be in agreement. All laws passed prior to and during the Civil War were to continue in effect unless they were in conflict with the Constitution of the United States; the actions of the Hamilton government were declared valid.²⁰

The convention adopted an "ordinance" which was especially important in Affleck's plans. This ordinance "Authorizing the

19 It was in session from February 7 to April 2. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 95-107.

20 *Ibid.*

appointment of a Commissioner of Statistics, for the promotion of Immigration," resolved, "That the Legislature may provide for the appointment of a Commissioner of Statistics, to organize a system for the promotion of immigration to the State of Texas, whose duty it shall be to collect information in regard to the mineral resources, productions and population of the State, and to prepare and publish such documents as may be calculated to furnish correct information about all the counties of the State, and inviting immigration from other States and countries."²¹ Although future legislative action was not mandatory, this provision was interpreted by Affleck and others as morally binding on the legislature.

The work of the convention was generally considered to embody the conservative program. Before its adjournment, the campaign for governor had begun. The outcome of the election, it was agreed, would go far in determining the type of future government in the state. The conservative forces rallied behind James W. Throckmorton as their candidate, and the radicals chose E. M. Pease. The campaign was a bitter one from the beginning, but Throckmorton was elected by an overwhelming majority, thus guaranteeing a conservative administration as long as he was in power.²²

During December, 1865, and the early months of 1866, economic

²¹ H. P. N. Carmel (comp.), The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897, 10 vols. (Austin, 1898-1902), V, 900.

²² Ransdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 77-112.

conditions showed considerable promise of improvement. Newspaper reports stressed the possibility of greater developments than in any period in the past history of the state. Cotton crops, even with the unsettled conditions of labor, were much larger in some sections than had been expected.²³ Wheat plantings promised abundant harvests.²⁴ Supplies of merchandise were plentiful except for a few items taken for the armies. Purchases indicated that there was not the scarcity of money previously expected.²⁵

Galveston, the export and import center of the state, had almost the appearance of a boom town, and Houston to a lesser extent indicated promise of good business for the future. In January it was reported from Galveston that "There is a great constant increase in shipping. All the principal ports in the U. S. are represented and many other foreign countries [*sic*]."²⁶ A new bank with a capital of \$100,000 was being established, and even the schools were considered to be in a "highly prosperous condition." The medical college there had doubled its enrollment since Christmas.²⁷ In February, 1866, the Galveston market showed that the demand for cotton was strong and that prices were good. There was not a great demand for imported goods, but the merchants, who were well stocked, were "assured" of a good

23 Jefferson Bulletin, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, December 7, 1865.

24 Collin County Messenger, quoted in ibid., December 10, 1865.

25 Austin State Gazette, quoted in ibid., December 21, 1865; ibid., December 27, 1865; January 10, 1866.

26 Galveston News, quoted in ibid., January 26, 1866.

27 New Orleans Picayune, January 14, 16, 1866.

market soon.²⁸ Later in the month a company consisting of Galveston and Houston merchants was formed. This company, called "The Wharf and Cotton Press Company," had a capital of \$100,000 to be used to erect modern warehouses, wharves, presses, etc.²⁹ In March it was reported that over \$300,000 of merchandise had been imported into Galveston since the opening of the port at the end of the war. This was the largest amount that had ever been imported during a similar period of time.³⁰ The reports on upstate business conditions were also quite favorable.³¹

The accounts of Affleck reflected the general feeling of optimism. In looking over Galveston Island for a place to locate his plants, he found that "Property in this city is going up at a prodigious rate. Mechanics all busy & hard to get."³² Business has been very dull for six weeks past. Planters and farmers were busy at home. The prospects for crops were yet doubtful; & people did not buy. Now it is fast reviving. And prodigious business will be done this coming Autumn....The prospects of the City & State are

28 Ibid., February 15, 1866.

29 Ibid., February 22, 1866.

30 Ibid., March 13, 1866.

31 See Galveston News, Houston Telegraph, Flake's Galveston Bulletin, and Dallas Herald, for these months.

32 The Galveston Daily News, December 18, 1866, reported that "Nearly all kinds of mechanical labor is in demand here. The wages of carpenters are five to six dollars per day, and twice as many employed as regularly." Quoted in New Orleans Picayune, December 27, 1866.

such, that every one is straining every nerve to benefit by them &
 33
 prepare for doing so."

Interest in immigration as reflected by the newspapers had continued during Affleck's absence from Texas. This was at least in part due to the letters that he had sent from Europe, both those written for the Texas papers and those written for British papers and reprinted in Texas. The greatest space was given to immigration, especially that from Scotland, in the Galveston News. Anything favorable to the movement was printed, and many editorials were written to
 34
 keep alive the enthusiasm for bringing in white laborers.

Much of the newspaper discussion of immigration during the late fall of 1865 and the early part of 1866 pointed to the example of other states. The News claimed that before the war Texas had more immigrants than any other southern state. This condition would not hold in the future unless some definite effort were made to meet the
 35
 challenge of other sections. Texas "instead of whining, as other [southern] States are doing, over the derangement of the labor system should set to work to procure an industrious white population." In particular was it necessary to overcome the advantageous position which

33 Affleck to Lafone, May 7, 1866.

34 See Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 13, 15, December 18, 22, 1865; January 10, 15, 29, February 12, 28, March 16, 1866; Galveston Daily News, January 17, February 1, 1866; Dallas Herald, February 17, 1866; New Orleans Picayune, November 7, 16, 1865; January 10, 13, 23, 30, February 3, 7, 1866; La Grange New Era, quoted in ibid., February 21, 1866, for information on the immigration movement. See also, Woody, "The Labor and Immigration Problem of South Carolina During Reconstruction," in loc. cit., 195-98, for similar newspaper enthusiasm concerning immigration.

35 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, January 10, 1866.

the United States Homestead law of 1862 gave many northern states. Accordingly the Texas Convention was advised to take measures to overcome³⁶ the negative effects of this act in the state. Long articles from newspapers of other southern states were published, and comments on their immigration policies were given. For example, Mississippi was being assisted by an enterprising gentleman, a Colonel Battaile, who was guaranteeing to furnish any number of satisfactory immigrants to planters for a certain fee. At the time of report, January 17, 1866, he had already brought in over³⁷ 300 immigrants. In Georgia, ships were being chartered, inducements³⁸ of many kinds were being offered, and agents were being dispatched. North Carolina's efforts were meeting with success, it was reported. Finally, the first legislature of Virginia following the restoration of³⁹ the government had passed acts for encouraging immigration.

During this period, various immigrant groups and societies were subjected to scrutiny. The Germans were singled out in particular. During the winter, large numbers had come into the state, and immigrant aid

³⁶ *Ibid.*; Dallas Herald, February 17, 1866.

³⁷ Aberdeen (Miss.) Sunny South, quoted in Galveston Daily News, January 17, 1866.

³⁸ Dallas Herald, February 17, 1866.

³⁹ See Galveston Daily News, March 7, 1866, for a discussion of Virginia's laws in connection with immigration. Two private companies had been incorporated for introducing immigrants: the Virginia and North Carolina Land, Emigration and Colonization Society, and the Virginia Land, Trust and Immigration Company. Virginia Acts, 1866, Chaps. 182, 183, pp. 288-89. Two acts to protect both the immigrants and the sponsors were passed by the legislature. *Ibid.*, Chaps. 142, 143, pp. 234-36. One act bound the laborer but gave him redress through the courts in case of complaint, and the other provided for payment of passage money out of wages. See also, Galveston Tri-weekly News, May 26, 28, 1866, for a discussion of this subject by Affleck.

societies were being set up among them. The German Society of New York had sent a long questionnaire to Texas for information concerning the treatment that German immigrants could expect. This was answered at great length through the columns of the Galveston News,⁴⁰ which guaranteed them the best of treatment. Some did not favor bringing in more Germans because of the Unionist tendencies among many of them during the Civil War, but, on the whole, these objectors⁴¹ constituted a small and unimportant group.

Other immigrant groups were given attention. It was reported that many Swedish people, now going to the North, could be attracted to the South. A colony of Poles had been settled east of the Trinity River during the winter of 1865-1866.⁴² Other nationalities could be encouraged if the co-operation of the people and government of the⁴³ state were assured.

⁴⁰ Flake's Galveston Bulletin, November 2, 1865, quoted in New Orleans Picayune, November 7, 1865; New Orleans Picayune, November 16, 1865; February 3, 1866; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, January 29, February 28, 1866; Houston Daily Telegraph, April 12, 1866; Houston Weekly Telegraph, April 27, 1866.

⁴¹ Houston Weekly Telegraph, April 27, 1866. "A German" added an interesting note to the discussion. In reply to the complaint that "the German population, most likely to migrate, is generally rationalistic in religious and radical in political faith," he said that the people of the state need have no fear that there would be any considerable influx of Germans after the example of treatment accorded them in Louisiana and Mississippi. *Ibid.*

⁴² Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 22, 1866; New Orleans Picayune, February 7, 1866.

⁴³ See citations in n. 34, *supra*; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 18, 1866; New Orleans Picayune, February 16, 1866.

To these positive arguments was added the damage to the state unless something were done to counterbalance the effect of freeing the Negro. The example of Jamaica was described and emphasized from time to time in the papers.⁴⁴

Although there was general agreement on the desirability of immigration, an organized effort and plan awaited the arrival of Affleck. On board steamship he had penned a letter to the Galveston News, May 8, 1866, in which he gave a summary of his work in Europe and discussed the prospects of help from across the ocean for rebuilding the South. This letter set off a publicity campaign without parallel in the previous history of the state, and perhaps of the South. Not only were the letters of Affleck published at great length, but editorials, correspondence, and news articles cumulated rapidly. The Galveston News was in the vanguard, but other papers in the state entered into the campaign by copying Affleck's letters and expressing interest in his projects.

In this first letter of a new series, Affleck showed that the state of Texas could only blame itself if advantage were not taken of the proffered assistance from Europe. All knew the purpose of his journey to Great Britain. He was glad to say that he had been successful beyond his "most sanguine hopes; although a great deal remains to be done to produce the wished-for results to the State." The citizens must be made to understand that to make Texas what she was capable of becoming,

⁴⁴ Galveston News, December 7, 1866, and Houston Telegraph, December 8, 1866, et seq.

immigration of the best European nationalities must be encouraged. "Let nothing tempt our people," he advised, "to encourage the introduction of coolies or of any low-grade race." It was not enough to be willing to have immigrants come to the state; positive efforts must be made.

There were serious problems in the way of a successful movement, and these must be solved. "To import this needed population, shipping is required, and that, too, propelled by steam." But steamships were costly, and no one would be willing to risk capital unless the results were assured. That could "only be done by an assurance of full and paying leads each way; or by a State subsidy in the beginning of the enterprise."⁴⁵ Furthermore, "Steamships to be profitable, under any circumstances, and to cross the ocean speedily and in safety, must be of good size--too large to cross the bars of our harbors. To ride outside at anchor lightering the cargoes both in and out, is an expensive item to be paid by the shippers and consumer." To meet navigation difficulties there must be a ship channel⁴⁶ dredged through the bars on the coast.

⁴⁵ Galveston Daily News, May 8, 1866. Affleck's letter was reprinted in the Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 9, and in the Dallas Weekly Herald, May 26, 1866. The Galveston News was still being published in Houston, and it had a considerable circulation in that center. Also, it should be kept in mind that Affleck was not very friendly with Cushing, editor of the Telegraph, and it is not surprising that the communication did not appear in that paper. The Austin papers neither supported the particular movement here under discussion nor fought it, but they were interested in immigration. San Antonio seems to have had little interest in the labor difficulties of the rest of the state, as her own problems were not acute. The Clarksville Standard was a firm supporter of Affleck's projects at a later date, but at this time filled its columns with information concerning immigration from other sections of the South.

⁴⁶ Galveston Daily News, May 8, 1866.

Affleck's interest in dredging had been created by the information he had gathered while in New York. He had called on the dredging machinery manufacturers, Morris and Cummings, to secure information concerning an outfit for his proposed plan of cultivating oysters in the bays of Texas. This company held patents upon some very valuable machinery which had been successfully used in keeping New York harbor free from obstructions.⁴⁷ For assistance, Affleck thought of Lafone, who had agreed to enter upon any and all enterprises that might be profitable. Others might be interested in the plan. Even without assistance,

⁴⁷ Affleck to Morris and Cummings, April 24, 1866. Affleck wrote, when he had to stop over in Indianapolis, of plans that he seems to have formulated while on the journey westward from New York. "Our first Legislature under the new order of things, meets in August," he stated. "We expect to press upon the State, the necessity for dredging a ship channel across the bar off Galveston. I made the necessary arrangements for carrying the work through, while in England. And desire to undertake the work, in connection with a friend there who has means. I was very pleased with the working of yr. Machine, & desire to use it. To carry the work through will require no small expenditure of money & effort. I am unwilling to do this, without first seeing that I may secure of some of the material benefit to myself." Hence, he would like to know at what price they would hold the control of the patent in Texas and for Louisiana for the balance of their term, as patentees. There would be only one job of consequence in Texas, that of dredging the bar off Galveston, but, if given favorable terms, he would contact the Mobile authorities as to the use of the machine for the work at that place. He would also like to know the offer that they could give him for a term of one year on the patent. "That is, if I succeed in carrying the thing through, I must do so within a year, & pay say half of what you claim, on giving you the order at any time within the year, for a Machine, or the offer of a contract; & the other half in six months thereafter--to be paid in coin, or a draft on Liverpool at its market value." He would appreciate their prompt attention to the matter as he expected to move in the enterprise at once. Ibid.

however, some profit might be made by Affleck alone if he could⁴⁸
get this patent without putting up any money.

In the letter to the News Affleck also explained his relations with the Rayman company, and why he had not returned with a definite contract for shipping cattle to England. He had found that the English and American Traffic and Transit Company had not been organized, as he had been led to believe. There had developed a "kink" somewhere, he reported. Even after some of the leading businessmen had been convinced of the efficacy of the enterprise, there was difficulty in getting definite plans under way. Although Affleck was assured the project would be carried through in some form or another, it had been necessary to return without definite proposals to offer. If Texas would guarantee to support such a project, there would be no trouble in organizing a company in Eng-⁴⁹land. In such case, ships would be ready to sail in September.

A report of his work for immigration while in England and Scotland was added. Pamphlets had been printed, letters written to individuals and to newspapers, and people interviewed. The results "were gratifying in the extreme." There was not only a flood of inquiries from laborers but also from businessmen who had expressed an

⁴⁸ Ibid.; id. to wife, April 11, 1865.

⁴⁹ Galveston Daily News, May 8, 1866; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 9, 1866.

interest both in the immigration proposals and in the unlimited supplies of livestock in Texas. He had found "an anxious desire to benefit by the prospects held out, of advantages to be gained by emigration to those states of the late Confederacy, and more especially to Texas. I found a most friendly and sympathetic feeling amongst the people, rich and poor, in our favor; and which prevailed universally during our struggle, and from the very first." Affleck found also "a wish to invest money in any way that afforded a clear business prospect of fair returns--in banking, lending to planters, to enable them to renew their planting operations, extending railroads, assisting emigration, sustaining steam communication, curing packing and importing meats and live stock, &c., &c." Above all, however, he had found "any number of laborers, house servants, mechanics, skilled operatives, clerks, salesmen, teachers, &c. would gladly come and engage themselves on fair terms, if the means and the way were made clear to them." A hundred thousand or more "of farm laborers to work on the plan I proposed, for an interest in the crop, for a term of years," could be procured if the proper method and Affleck's counsel were followed.

Affleck advised strongly against any action that would injure the credit of the state. He had in mind the actions of other states of the South in abrogating their indebtedness, whether incurred in prosecuting the war or not. But this advice was too late, for the state

50 Galveston Daily News, May 8, 1866.

51 Ibid.

in its convention on March 15, had voided all debts incurred during the war.
52

After his arrival in the state on May 4, 1866, Affleck moved rapidly. His first letter written in Galveston was addressed to Henry Lafone. "The prospects of the City & State are such," he enthusiastically reported, "that every one is straining every nerve to benefit by them & prepare for doing so." He explained that he had lost a week on the way to Texas inquiring into matters connected with their proposed enterprises, and in making arrangements for supplies. Upon his arrival he had been met by the men with whom he had previously planned to join in shipping cattle, and they had made him a definite proposition. Affleck was enclosing the tentative contract, which they wished to submit for Lafone's approval or disapproval.
53

The partners, Jalonick, Herndon, and Hancock, were prepared to act. These men were ready to furnish any amount of beef for the market, and to enter a contract for shipping.
54 The details of the arrangement need not be discussed. It appears, however, that Affleck

52 Cassel (comp.), Laws of Texas, V, 837-83.

53 Affleck to Lafone, May 7, 1866. There was no mention made of dredging plans, which indicates that this enterprise was to be presented to some of the other English businessmen for consideration.

54 Affleck had made a contract with Charles Congreve when he had passed through New York to purchase in partnership the Morgan's process for packing meat. What this process was, it has been impossible to determine definitely. Apparently brine was introduced into the veins of the slaughtered animals. Affleck to Atwood, Wharton and Clark, May 15, 1866.

was trying to make a deal whereby he would make money out of the company and also extra profits as an intermediary between the other two⁵⁵ contracting parties. Pushed, as usual, for funds, he was either not dealing honestly with either party in the proposed undertaking, or, at best, he was not giving all the information ordinarily expected in a partnership.

Throughout May and most of June, Affleck was preparing for the provision company and for shipping cattle in either a cured form or alive. He corresponded with Charles S. Sawyer of Cairo, Illinois, concerning the cost of tierces for packing beef and had him prepare⁵⁶ to deliver a large number upon call. A deal was closed with the Nyce's Fruit House in case it was found practical to ship the meat in refrigerated ships. In his negotiations with Nyce, he agreed to⁵⁷ serve as agent for Nyce's patent in Texas and in England. Arrangements had been completed also for the use of the Morgan process of preserving meat. Affleck was not only to have the free use of the patent for his own plant, but he and Congreve were to share the re-⁵⁸turns from the agency for Texas.

55 Affleck to Lafone, May 7, 1866; *id.* to I. A. Kimblish, May 21, 1866.

56 *Id.* to Charles S. Sawyer, May 14, 1866.

57 *Id.* to Nyce, May 14, July 2, 1866.

58 *Id.* to Atwood, Wharton and Clark, May 15, 1866; *id.* to Congreve, May 15, 1866. In connection with this partnership, Affleck wrote that he had found it necessary to agree to let Judge Henry Watrous have the right to the patent for the district west of the Guadalupe. Watrous was a noted Unionist and might have caused some trouble if his desires had not been fulfilled. *Ibid.*

During the latter part of June, Affleck and his wife made a tour of the coast, with a view of procuring land for locating the provision plant and the proposed town for the laborers. He found property held at much higher prices than he had supposed. The locations that he had had earlier in mind for the plant were not now⁵⁹ procurable at a reasonable price. One suitable place located near Morgan's Point belonged to one of his neighbors in Washington County, a Mrs. Houston. Her agent had informed Affleck that she did not wish to sell, but Affleck believed that she could be convinced. In outlining the advantages to Mrs. Houston of selling, Affleck wrote Dunbar: "You can take an early chance of riding over to Mrs. Houston's & tell her laughingly, of how the Mosquitoes resisted an attempted invasion of her old house--& read her the first 5 pages of this. The tract would suit ~~very~~ well; but will require much outlay & labor to develop it. In fact, I have seen none other that would suit so well. And if I do not get it, I shall probably locate the works on the island. Don't you speak of my wanting it particularly; but only [that] it is one of the places [that] would⁶⁰ serve my purpose."

Affleck soon became convinced that it would be necessary to delay the building of the provision plant. Labor in Galveston and

59 Id. to Dunbar, June 25, 1866; id. to Lafone, June 26, 1866.

60 Id. to Dunbar, June 25, 1866.

other centers was so high that it would be impracticable to put up the works with native laborers. There were also reports of a severe financial panic in England, and the Texan became concerned⁶¹ about Lafone's financial condition. On June 26 Affleck wrote that he had been pushing the beef packing business as much as possible but "Fearing how matters were on your side the water; & believing there was a good thing in arousing & encouraging emigration from England &c. to our state, I have pushed that matter." He hoped that "Spence Higgins & Titherington are not within range⁶² of the hurricane." Nothing could be done at present, he added, to begin packing, as there were no facilities, no workmen, and no staves for the barrels. "Every blow of work, & every dollar that can be spent in that way, is being laid out in building dwellings & stores. Rents are enormous. And property is of all kinds going up,⁶³ up all the time!" The only practical thing to do, Affleck now concluded, was to wait until the labor situation improved, and until

⁶¹ See Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 3, 1866. It reported "At latest from London the financial panic was subsiding, but fears were still entertained that it might break out with increased vehemence." Rates were very high for money and exceedingly hard to get. See also, Clapham, Economic History of Modern Britain, II, 375. The threatened war on the continent appears to have been one of the basic causes for the uncertainty in financial circles.

⁶² Affleck to Lafone, June 26, 1866.

⁶³ Ibid.; id. to Atwood, Wharton and Clark, July 2, 1866.

he could return to England and inform himself as to the true state
⁶⁴
 of affairs there.

While Affleck was engaged in these activities, the immigration organisation under his direction had been pushed with renewed vigor and with seeming success. On May 8, 1866, he began to present again, in more definite form, his plans through the newspapers. His propaganda was well timed, and its reception gives evidence to the fact that it was effective.

Upon his arrival in Texas, Affleck had written, he had found conditions in a "pretty state of things, so far as labor and house servants were concerned!" To meet this situation, "Any number of first class laborers in every department, and of house servants,
⁶⁵
 can be procured from England and Scotland." First-class servants would do five times the work of the Negroes, "and without their impudence, grumbling and filth. And that, too, for wages of twelve
⁶⁶
 to fifteen dollars per month, and their food." The passage fare of \$40 for the laborer or the servant must be paid by those who hired

64 Id. to Lafone, July 4, 1866. "Relative to the Provision Co's works--I am somewhat at a loss. There is every prospect of recog. funds enough to make the necessary contracts for lumber &c., to be all ready against my return. And even to do all that may be wanted. But, from the tone of your last, I fear to go very far until I see you. If I could be absolutely certain that you would do the Co's transportation of emigrants, the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company had been formed by this time, so that I could apply the proceeds of the passage money to the necessary outlay to put the works in operation, I should know what to do....But as it is, I think better to do but little until I hear from or see you."

65 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 9, 1866; Dallas Weekly Herald, June 2, 1866.

66 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 9, 1866.

them. An additional charge of \$20 would be required by Affleck to pay the expenses incurred in making all the necessary arrangements; "advertising, printing, circulating information; to agents looking to their character and capabilities; receiving them in Liverpool, drawing up contracts, and seeing them on board ship."

The promoter further explained how he expected to work out the problems of labor for his own plantation. In his own case, he had selected a steady, experienced farm manager, who was to gather up about forty families "of laborers, mechanics, &c., whom he knows and has confidence in." These employees were to enter contracts for five years and were to repay the cost of their passage out of their wages. In return for the use of the facilities of the plantation, they were to receive half of the crop, but the arrangement was to be such that they would work the plantation under the general supervision of the owner, "the main object being a gradual and perfectly practical improvement of the place."⁶⁷

This co-operative plan could be adapted to any number of plantations and, with the passage of laws at the next session of the legislature to enforce the fulfillment of contracts, there would be no risk in the arrangement. "We must," Affleck wrote, "bring in enough to supply every one, and make it a penal offense, punishable by fine and imprisonment to break such a contract, or to tamper with or persuade employees to break their contracts, be they white or black. There is nothing

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* See next, pp. 227-32.

whatever unjust or oppressive in such a law. Other states have passed and enforced them."⁶⁸ A line of steamships was to be put on in the fall, he informed the public, and everything was ready for those who wished to procure needed laborers.⁶⁹

In the next issue of the Galveston News, Affleck continued his discussion of the project. To show the need of organization, he pointed out the difficulties faced by anyone from the South who went to Europe with a view of procuring laborers. "There are, there," he wrote, "companies of the kind upon a large scale, carried on for many years. The results are, that the British Colonies and the Northwestern United States have been filled up with a rapidity of which those who have not informed themselves have no conception." The prospective emigrant was informed about every part of the world: "AUSTRALIA--TASMANIA--QUEENSLAND--NEW ZEALAND--CANADA--CAPE COLONIES--ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD--IOWA--UTAH--EVERYWHERE--except these Southern States!"⁷⁰ He had been chagrined to find that "the country we fought for so bravely, is to the rest of the world almost an UNKNOWN LAND; excepting only the battle-fields of Virginia!" The people of Europe had sympathized with the secession, but they hardly knew where the South was. Affleck had not found a map of Texas on his whole route in Europe except one that he had sent over years before. To combat this ignorance, an immigration

⁶⁸ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 9, 1866. See Chap. II, n. 1.

⁶⁹ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 9, 1866.

⁷⁰ In the Affleck Scrapbook there are numerous handbills from companies and governments of the countries he mentions.

company with capital of a million dollars should be organized.⁷¹

Affleck could show to his own satisfaction that his plan was a practical one. In the first place, it was being sponsored by a man of wide experience. His initial success had been possible because he was a Scotsman by birth and knew of the problems faced by the people of Great Britain. Further, he was familiar with all sections of the United States and could show the advantage to be derived from emigrating to Texas. He "knew the resources of the country, thoroughly and practically, and could lay them understandingly before the most ignorant; and--you may laugh; but it is a true bill--I looked as if the climate did not hurt a white man!"⁷²

With proper assistance, those responsible for the financial arrangements could manage without great burden on anyone. Texas and Texans need not put up any cash except for the transportation of the immigrants needed by each individual. The necessary capital for the company could be raised by having \$700,000. of the stock taken in Texas with land as payment; the remaining \$300,000 stock could be sold for cash in England. But the state must aid in the matter. This it could do in part by making a proper disposition of some of its lands. To reimburse the company for the money it would have to expend, the state must grant to it fifty or one hundred acres of land for each immigrant brought over. It would be a mistake to grant land to immigrants as had

⁷¹ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 11, 1866; Dallas Herald, June 9, 1866.

⁷² Dallas Herald, June 9, 1866.

been done in several states. The newcomers were placed on wild lands without proper facilities, and either died or were unproductive for many years. But if the land were placed at the disposal of the company and the immigrants were put on lands already in cultivation, immediate advantage to the settler, to the state, and to its people would be derived. "Every foot of land the state possesses should be either used so as to yield immediate profitable results to her, as in bringing in productive laborers, extending railroads, improving harbors, &c., or should be reserved until they acquire a greater money value; and in the meantime used as a means of establishing and maintaining her credit at home and abroad." Another reason for not granting lands directly to immigrants was the fact that it would not be fair to those who were already in the state, and who had worked to own what they had, "and who should now have the opportunity of bringing the lands thus acquired into market; without being so fearfully underpaid by the State herself."⁷³

This land policy would also help the impaired credit of the state. Great injury had been done to Texas in repudiating its debts. "The recent acts of the Convention," Affleck warned, "will

⁷³ In this advice Affleck was attempting to guard against the granting of lands by the same method as the old state homestead law. Such a practice would have made it impossible for the company to get large holdings. The land would serve as an excellent basis for credit, he believed. McKittrick, The Public Land System of Texas, 38-52.

require every possible effort to remove the stain they have cast upon that credit, however the acts may have been forced upon the State. The actual war debt, under the pressure of the Radical Government of the Union, was of necessity repudiated, I presume. But nothing, nothing should have tempted the members of the Convention to include any other debts or claims, under any pressure whatever. Every man in the State, who hopes to see her assume the position she is entitled to, must labor, aye toil to remove that stain, by the bye we can do it."⁷⁴ The granting of lands as a basis of credit would be the only way that the state in its present condition⁷⁵ could assure investors that their investments were secure.

Such arguments had interested responsible businessmen, and a⁷⁶ meeting was called for May 9 to discuss Affleck's proposal. The meeting was held at the countinghouse of James Sorley, prominent banker of Galveston. Among those present were Guy M. Bryan, James S.

⁷⁴ See Edmund T. Miller, A Financial History of Texas (Austin, 1916), 177-86; Remedell, Reconstruction in Texas, 102-103, for discussions of the repudiation of debts. Affleck's attitude was in accord with opinion expressed by most papers of the state. It was believed by the members of the convention that they were carrying out the wishes of President Johnson in repudiating both civil and war debts. There seems to be no evidence that the President advocated the repudiation of the state's debts incurred in affairs other than war expenditures.

⁷⁵ Of the public domain there were over 60,000,000 acres, according to the Texas Almanac for 1867, p. 190. Affleck hoped, however, that in case of failure of the state to act, individuals in Texas who held some 75,000,000 acres of land could be fallen back on.

⁷⁶ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 11, 1866; Dallas Herald, June 9, 1866.

Thrasher, J. S. Sydnor, Andrew Neill, W. R. Smith, John H. Herndon, William R. Baker, C. G. Forshey, and C. W. Smith, all highly respected businessmen or landholders. Bryan and Sorley had held important offices in the state and Confederate government, and the latter in financial offices which raised funds to carry on the war.⁷⁷

Affleck's report was heard and favorably commented on by all present. Resolutions were drawn and adopted by the meeting, and were printed in the newspapers. It was resolved that "we deem the formation of a Labor and Immigration Aid Society, for the purpose of giving impulse to immigration to this State, and providing employment for immigrants here, a desirable wise step, and calculated to advance the interest of our fellow citizens." Resolutions were also adopted recommending that representatives from all sections of the state meet on May 30; that a committee of ten with Bryan as chairman be appointed for drafting and submitting a plan for a state labor and immigration company; and that Affleck be requested to attend the general meeting to communicate what information he had gathered concerning the feasibility of the immigration plans. It was further resolved that the minutes of the meeting be published for the information of the people of the state. A committee composed of the prominent men named above was appointed.⁷⁸ Thus the program was launched under the most favorable circumstances. The support of most of the

⁷⁷ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 11, 1866; Balgar, "Texas in the War," 256, 257, 508, 509.

⁷⁸ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 11, 1866.

people of the state seemed assured.

The day after the meeting, another lengthy letter from Affleck's pen appeared in the papers.⁷⁹ In this article he outlined the work before the company and the tentative plans for organization. "Let us at once form the company proposed," he wrote. "Select pro tem officers; draw up and print a prospectus; send copies to every man in the State willing to erect himself to carry it through. Get subscriptions to the stock without delay, and be prepared to apply and press upon the Legislature the granting of the necessary charter, with a bonus of land; and the enactment of such laws as will make contracts entered into in other countries not only binding here, but the breach of them a matter too serious in its results to be willingly risked without good cause; and laying such pains and penalties upon the mischief making taxperer with those in the employment of others, in the shape of fine and imprisonment, as will put a stop to such practices."⁸⁰

A serious objection to Affleck's plan was that other companies would demand similar privileges from the state, which, if

⁷⁹ It should be kept in mind that the letters that Affleck wrote were being published in the most prominent paper in the state, the Galveston News, and were being copied in full by at least one other paper, the Dallas Herald. The other principal papers, Houston Telegraph, San Antonio Herald, Clarksville Standard, and Austin Gazette followed the activities of the company more or less closely.

⁸⁰ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 11, 1866; Dallas Herald, June 16, 1866.

81

granted, would take most of the vacant lands. It would be a bad policy, Affleck stated, to allow other companies to enjoy these advantages. Such action would only place competing workers⁸² in the field and hinder any chances of success.

Four days later, Affleck was again writing to the Galveston News giving further facts supporting his belief that the only solution to the situation facing Texas was the formation of the immigration company. He had left Galveston by this time and had gone home for a few days. Conditions there had made him more resolved to find white labor. "Instead of the cheerful, happy 'How d'ye master,' the hearty hand-shaking, the broad grin and the happy look of those who were really happy servants, I find a few strange faces--except one or two of the old house-servants--and nothing hearty and happy looking--Gardens, &c., destroyed; because the few negroes hired to try and make some crop positively refused to keep up the fences, as being no part of their engagements! A scanty crop on about one-fourth of the cultivated land; looking

⁸¹ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 11, 1866. "Suppose such a company should introduce 50,000 immigrants, with their families, numbering perhaps, 200,000 in all, during these three years. The Company would receive in fifty acres for each adult, two and a half million acres of wild lands. It would expend during that time a very large amount, in order to bring in so many to the State. The result of which expenditure and effort would be felt ever after. It would be to the interest of the company to continue their efforts in order to settle up these lands."

⁸² Ibid., May 11, 19, 1866.

tolerably well as yet; but needing more and better work than it is likely to receive." It would be impossible to work and make
83
a living under such conditions.

Affleck rounded out his proposals for the reconstruction of Texas by pointing out the other enterprises that could be developed in the state. For example, he had found that there was much interest in England for helping the state to finish its railroads. Enthusiasm, which had been dampened by repudiation, could be restored by calling another convention for the purpose of assuming the responsibility for all state debts except those actually incurred in carrying on the war. There had been in the process of formation when he left Great Britain a "British and Southern Finance Company," with a capital of \$15,000,000, which was primarily interested in Texas. But to procure this aid, the provision in the constitution of 1866 which restricted banking organizations must be
84
repealed.

83 Galveston Daily News, May 19, 1866. The problem of keeping up fences was a most important one and was often mentioned in Affleck's complaints concerning the Negroes. See for example, Affleck to General Griffin, August 26, 1867, in Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, The National Archives (Photostatic copy in author's possession).

84 This provision stated: "No corporate body shall hereafter be created, renewed, or extended with banking or discounting privileges." Article IV, Section 30, "Constitution as Amended, and Ordinances of the Convention of 1866," in Gammel (ed.), Laws of Texas, V, 878.

Besides banking facilities and aid for railroads, unlimited financial aid for other enterprises could be procured. Affleck's ideas for irrigating the valleys of the state had been received most favorably, and help had been promised. Manufacturing of all sorts could get backing, and the English were particularly interested in the prospects in Texas for woolen and cotton mills. Wool growers could get financial support; those who grew sheep for mutton could be guaranteed profits. There were mistakes being made by Texas wool growers, however, that must be remedied before considerable profits would be realized. If Texas wool were to compete with that from such places as Canada and Australia, clean clippings, free from burrs and all sorts of filth, must be shipped. But even if the wool did not pay well, mutton would bring good prices.

Cattlemen were also to be aided. Liebig's process was now practical, and the extract was popular. The demand for live beef for this market was increasing rapidly. Beef could also be shipped in slaughtered form since the Morgan process of preservation by infiltration had been developed. There was no reason why all the resources of the state should not be utilized to their fullest extent.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 11, 1866.

As Galveston and Houston were supporting his immigration plans and as he was writing for a Galveston paper published in Houston, it was natural that Affleck should study and offer solutions for their problems. He found that houses and homes for working classes were especially needed in these cities. As there were plans on foot to build street railways in Galveston, the outlying districts of the city would be nearer to the business district. "Let us get up, in Galveston," he wrote, "as I have just proposed to the people of Houston, a Building and City Improving Company, with a capital of, say \$500,000, in 5,000 shares of \$100 each. Let it be admissable to pay for 3,000 shares in town lots in suitable property on which to build, at ~~strict present specie value~~. In that event I feel confident that I can have the remaining 2,000 shares paid for in coin, in building materials, as slate, machinery for making brick, zinc, tin, glass house furnishings, &c. and in transportation of same." Such a company would not only greatly benefit the cities mentioned but the state as well. Laborers and mechanics could be procured in Europe who would do the work cheaply and remain to become useful citizens.⁸⁶ In this proposal Affleck was preparing the way for the use of funds that Titherington had promised would be forthcoming for such a venture. By putting in the land at specie value, there would be a great opportunity for the promoters to make a large profit.

The Galveston ~~News~~ editor continued his wholehearted support, and

⁸⁶ Galveston Daily News, May 23, 1866.

supplied editorials and space for news articles concerning the progress of Affleck's enterprises. On May 11 there appeared an editorial notice written by Richardson calling attention to the report of the meeting held to promote immigration, "and to the letters of Mr. Affleck, now in course of publication. These are doubtless among the initiatory steps of a movement of great importance to the entire State of Texas....As to the propriety of introducing white labor, there has been almost unanimity of opinion ever since the emancipation proclamation from Mr. Lincoln was enforced by the Federal armies. Everything which had occurred since that day, in connection with the subject, has only served to strengthen the conviction that the hope of the South was involved in the effort to turn a stream of European immigration to our shores. The enemies of the South would seem to believe the same doctrine, if we may judge by the pains they are taking to prejudice the south abroad, so as to prevent her emigrant schemes from effecting their objects....To get the freedmen to work as much as they ought to work, to repress their insolence, to build railroads, to make a vast and fertile domain the hive of industry, to exercise a full measure of political power--these, and many other objects, all rise into view in connection with the proceedings of the meeting to which we refer."⁸⁷

James S. Thrasher, a large landholder, added his pen to that of Affleck's in promoting interest in the immigration company. He wrote a letter to the Herald giving a report on the information that had been laid before the first meeting. He praised the work done by Affleck,

⁸⁷ Galveston Tri-Weekly Herald, May 11, 1866.

and included a synopsis of the latter's report. The enthusiastic reception of Affleck's correspondence with British newspapers was cited as proof that there were great opportunities awaiting those who were farsighted. A number of letters from prospective emigrants had been read by Affleck showing that every type of laborer and clerk could be procured. In concluding this letter, Thrasher said that he was convinced of the efficacy of Affleck's plans if proper co-operation and effort were shown.⁸⁸

During May, Affleck became more convinced that the people of the

⁸⁸ Galveston Daily News, May 17, 1866. Thrasher cited the following letters that Affleck read before the committee:

"A. announced himself as a carpenter, 24 years old, with wife and two children; had no means to emigrate, but would be glad to do so if such could be provided and employment assured on arrival. Could bring the best testimonials from employers.

"B. was a plowman, 23 years old, had three children--was working now on a half yearly contract--wished to emigrate but had no means--must know if he could go in sufficient time to give his present employer warning--had good testimonials for sobriety, industry and general character. Of this class of letter there were many.

"C. was a plowman, single, had about \$20--could pay his way out if he could get labor on arrival.

"D. had about \$100--was a small farmer with seven children--wanted to know about the land, climate, neighborhoods, &c. would prefer to buy a small farm if it were safe.

"E. was a spinner--wished to know about factory labor in Texas--would go if he could get passage out and a place to work on arrival.

"F. was an agent--had about \$300 in ready money--had been accustomed to turn over \$100,000 yearly--could bring the highest testimonials for honesty, business efficiency and character--would like to undertake the management of a farm for a proprietor.

"G. had about \$1,000 in cash--would like to go into some profitable enterprise in partnership.

"And so on I might go through the alphabet many times over, but the mass of the letters were from parties having no means, or small who wished to see their employment secured before they embarked to cross the ocean." See also Notebook in Affleck Papers containing this information.

state were as disgusted as he with the labor conditions and prospects of a crop. "The bearing of the negroes ~~is~~^{is} utterly unendurable," he reported in a letter to a friend.⁸⁹ He had begun to make arrangements to have his plantation and mill run by others as he realized that it would be impossible for him to manage them while he was away. He saw little hope of realizing anything from the plantation, but hoped that the sawmill would help pay his expenses to Europe. He gave orders to have the lumber on hand sold as soon as possible.⁹⁰ While he was making arrangements for companies with enormous capital, he was having to use every means to raise money for his personal expenses.⁹¹

On May 14 and 16 the formal call was issued through the columns of the Galveston News for the meeting to be held to form an immigration company on May 30. It stated that all should attend who could possibly do so. Unless concerted action were taken to combat the work of the radicals, there was danger of general confiscation. It was emphasized that the society was not for the benefit of Galveston solely, but, as that city would benefit greatly, the meeting was called to meet there.⁹²

⁸⁹ Affleck to Winbush, May 21, 1866.

⁹⁰ Ibid. to William Copeland, May 21, 1866.

⁹¹ Ibid.; Id. to Charles S. Congreve, May 15, 1866.

⁹² Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 14, 1866. The article issuing the call included the following paragraph: "The planters are quite as much interested as any other class in the formation of such a society, and we feel sure that they will permit nothing to hinder them from showing that interest by giving the meeting the benefit of their presence and counsel. It is chiefly on their account that we advocate the movement, sympathizing with them as we do in the difficulties which emancipation forced them to contend with, and anxious as we are that they should be enabled to triumph over the fanatical enmity which has sought to force them to abandon their homes to the cormorants of speculation. By speedy

Thus, Affleck's proposals for solving the labor problems of the state were assured a formal hearing.

introduction of free labor--in time to take full advantage of the increased value of cotton--we believe they will help to defeat radicalism....It is...very proper that our city should take a leading part; but unless the planters co-operate, Galveston can accomplish nothing. She is but an agency of which the planting interest is the moving power." In explaining the danger faced if nothing were done, it was added: "Why is Radicalism concentrating on Western Virginia, and sending colonies and capital there, while it throws every possible obstacle in the way of efforts of the more Southern States to attract immigration, except that it has not yet been able to carry out fully its policy of confiscation?" See also, *ibid.*, May 16, 1866.

XIII

THE TEXAS LAND, LABOR AND IMMIGRATION COMPANY

The announcement of the organization meeting of the company to encourage immigration, called for May 30, 1866, elicited much enthusiasm. Affleck made speeches in several places, and his letters to the newspapers attracted wide attention. A favorable notice appeared in the Houston Telegraph, which had previously been rather uninterested in the movement.¹ Although there was some satisfaction with the efforts of General Kiddoo, the new commander of the Freedmen's Bureau, there remained a determination among many Texans to free themselves of any dependence on the Negro by the use of immigrants.² A good representation from the western counties was predicted, thus removing one of the worries of the organizers of the company. There had been a number of applications from these counties³ for agencies to sell stock.

When a writer in the Houston Telegraph of May 29 charged that Affleck was trying to use the immigration movement for his own personal interests, the editor issued a denial. He cited the fact that the state's most prominent men were interested in the enterprise, and that these men could not be charged with collusion in a selfish undertaking. Such an attitude as that of the critic, the editor added,

1 Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, May 25, 1866.

2 Although Kiddoo was personally fairly popular, the same could not be said for a majority of his agents. Ibid., June 8, 1866; New Orleans Times, quoted in ibid., June 29, 1866; Galveston Daily News, July 29, 1866; Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 121-22; J. C. Massie to Governor J. W. Throckmorton, September 15, 1866, in Governors' Letters, Texas State Archives.

3 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 27, 30, 1866.

was the cause for the backwardness of the state.⁴

Affleck returned to Galveston by May 28, and issued a statement urging all who wanted immigrant laborers to get in touch with him soon, as he was planning to leave for England by the first of July. He was delaying his departure only until the company should have been formed. If the company were chartered and operating efficiently when he left, he would labor in the interest of that organization; otherwise, he would bring in immigrants without its assistance.⁵

All who felt an interest "in obtaining white labor, and the improvement of the agricultural interests of the State" were encouraged to attend the meeting. Some were contending that Texan immigration schemes had all failed. The editor of the Galveston News pointed out that present circumstances were different, that now the lands were ready for cultivation and needed only labor, whereas previous attempts had sought to settle wild lands. Capital had been expended, and the only need was for workers to produce income. The people must decide between bringing the productive power of the lands down to the level of the Negroes' capacity or introducing white labor.⁶ Affleck added a note of warning. He had in his

4 Houston Daily Telegraph, May 29, 30, 1866. Affleck and Cushing, the editor, seemed to have patched up their differences for the time. See also Galveston Tri-Weekly News, August 1, 1866, for a glowing article in support of Affleck.

5 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 30, 1866.

6 Ibid.; Dallas Herald, June 2, 1866.

possession a letter from a planter who had tried to contract with a Yankee to work his plantation. The Northerner had departed when the crops were in greatest need of attention, and the planter was left in a critical position because nothing could be done with Negro labor after it came in contact with Yankee management. He was appealing for help and hoped that Affleck or the immigration company could give it. The letter itself was quoted to show that it was a bona fide plea.⁷

The immigration meeting convened on the morning of May 30 in the Sorley Building. At least fourteen counties were represented, although the preponderance of representatives were from Houston and Galveston. On motion of Colonel Ashbel Smith, Colonel Guy M. Bryan was elected president and Captain N. W. Barziza, secretary. The President read a plan of organization reported by James S. Thrasher, who represented the committee of ten appointed at an initial meeting to study the proposals made by Affleck. A committee⁸ to consider Thrasher's report was then appointed by the president and instructed to report a plan of organization at the next session. If one had

⁷ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 30, 1866.

⁸ This group included the following: Ashbel Smith, chairman, H. A. Bodman, J. W. Laurence, Harris County; M. G. Nolan, Fort Bend; Thomas Affleck, Judge Gabriel Felder, Nelson Gavanau, Washington; James L. Gay, Fayette; Angus McNeill, Colorado; Judge Haller, Austin; James S. Thrasher, John S. Sellers, Galveston; P. Perry, Fort Bend; E. B. P. Gaines, S. S. Perry, Brazoria; Dr. C. B. Sturt Stewart? Montgomery; Dr. Dunklin, McLennan; L. D. Saunders, Cherokee; George H. Sweet, Bexar; Colonel Hays, I. G. Searcy, Grimes. Ibid.

called the roll of Confederate loyalists and of those who were still loyal to the principles of the defeated cause, there would have been⁹ a unanimous response in both cases.

When the delegates reassembled, resolutions were adopted to the effect that the promotion of immigration and protection of immigrants were vital to the welfare of the state, and that the legislature by suitable laws should facilitate the introduction of white settlers from abroad. It was also resolved that an executive committee of nine men should be appointed, three of whom should reside outside of Galveston. This body was authorized "to appoint subcommittees to receive subscriptions to the capital stock of this company,...to apply for a charter for the company when the required amount of subscriptions shall be obtained," and "to take all steps necessary for efficient organization of the company, until the subscribers there to shall have elected a Board of Directors." A special committee consisting of Affleck, Colonel C. G. Forshey, Colonel Chauncey Shephard, and John Sellers was appointed to select an Executive Committee. They chose Sellers, Thrasher, C. S. Hughes, G. W. Crawford, J. Frederick, and F. H. Merriman of Galveston; William R. Baker of Houston; J. H. Herndon of Brazoria County; and Ashbel Smith of Harris County. Finally, resolutions were adopted empowering the

⁹ The representatives at the Convention were all former Confederates. Ashbel Smith, Sorley, and Bryan were the most prominent. See Felgar, "Texas in the War," 256, 257, 505, 509; Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 37, 119.

Executive Committee to fill vacancies in its membership and inviting co-operation in procuring subscriptions to the proposed stock company.¹⁰

The delegates divided on the question of placing restrictions on the company's power to accept or reject land as payment for stock. Some of them favored resolutions making it compulsory for the company to take any amount of land at a set price. As this would have placed the company in an impossible position because some cash would be needed, the resolutions were rejected, although some of the members were quite disgruntled by the decision.¹¹

The Executive Committee of the company held its first meeting on May 31. The proceedings, a prospectus, and sample contracts for laborers were printed in pamphlet form.¹² The reasons for the formation of the company were again pointed out. The people of the state must realize that this company would be in competition with organizations in the North and in Europe and could achieve success only through unified effort. If assistance were offered to those who could not pay their own expenses, others who had funds of their own would follow. The ordinance adopted by the state convention of 1866 suggesting the

10 "Official Minutes of the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Convention," in Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 1, 1866. The report of the secretary was also included.

11 Ibid.; Dallas Herald, June 23, 1866.

12 A copy of the pamphlet is in the Affleck Papers. See also Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 6, 1866; Dallas Herald, June 23, 1866. The proceedings and prospectus were also published in the newspapers.

appointment of a Commissioner of Statistics should be called to the attention of the people, and the importance of some such office emphasized. Laws for the protection of labor contracts must be passed. It was made clear that the company meant only "to combine private means to aid in the great purpose of assisting immigration." State aid would be welcomed, however. Books were to be opened for subscriptions at all places of importance. When five hundred shares had been taken, the formal organization of the company was to take place, and the proper charter secured from the state government. A permanent executive committee would then be elected.¹³

The primary purpose of the organization was stated to be the promotion of immigration to aid planters, who were now so dependent on Negro labor. Organization was necessary, the prospectus stated, because most immigrants were going to the North, "giving healthful impulse to industrial enterprise there." This had been brought about by two things. In the first place, the northern and western states had agents in all the principal ports of Europe and America to show the advantages of their particular sections and to aid immigrants in finding their way to these states with the least discomfort. Secondly, cheap transportation had been provided for all who wished to come to the North and West. The southern states, and Texas in particular, must imitate this process if new settlers were to be attracted.

¹³ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 6, 1866; Dallas Harald, June 23, 1866.

Information about Texas must be assembled and distributed to prospective immigrants, and to capitalists in Europe and the North who wished to invest in southern land and industry or assist with the immigration project. Engagements were then to be made with laborers and skilled operatives, contracts entered into, and arrangements for transportation completed.¹⁴

The company was to be organized along the following lines. In the beginning the capital stock was to be set at \$500,000. Two thousand shares at \$50 each were to be subscribed in Texas, to be paid in coin; that is, \$100,000 was to be collected for the use of the company. The shares would be paid for in six payments over a period of six months; the first two were to be of \$5 each, the other four of \$10 each. The remainder of the capital stock was to be issued in payment for lands and to provide funds for transportation, supplies, and other outlay necessary for bringing in immigrants. For each share of stock, the holder was to be allowed to import three common laborers or two skilled operatives without further cost. By investing in the company to the amount of \$50, the shareholder could secure laborers at less cost than nonshareholders. After two years the preferred stockholders could get their money back if they wished to turn their stock back to the company, or, if they so desired, they

¹⁴ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 6, 1866; Dallas Herald, June 23, 1866.

could take lands at a 25 per cent reduction from market price. After one year, ordinary stockholders, those who did not take advantage of the initial offer, could get their investment back in land at company prices. The profits earned by the company, however, were to be shared equally by the preferred and common
15
stockholders.

When the immigrants arrived, those ordered by stockholders or others were to be turned over to them. Remaining newcomers would be given the opportunity of settling on company lands. As lands were to be received for stock at the market value in 1866, there was reason to believe that large profits would be made from the expected rise in value. The capital that was to be raised in England would be assured by having land serve as a basis of credit or a guarantee of investments. This was necessary because the state
16
had repudiated its debts.

Those who wished to contract with laborers were to apply to the agents of the company, giving the type of worker and the nationality desired. A description of the place where the immigrants were to be settled and the conditions under which they would live

15 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 6, 1866; Dallas Herald, June 23, 1866.

16 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 6, 1866; Dallas Herald, June 23, 1866. A comparison of this plan with prospectuses of English immigration companies shows that this was a typical joint-stock organization of the period. See Affleck Scrapbook.

must be included. A statement from the chief justice of the county showing the standing of the applicant in his own community must be attached to the order. For each immigrant desired by a nonshareholder, \$20 must be paid to the agent immediately. Arrangements must be completed with a banker or factor in Houston or Galveston for the payment of transportation to this country. This would amount to approximately \$45 in coin per person. Contracts would be signed by both employer and employee before the laborer was released from aboard ship.¹⁷

An editorial appeared in the Galveston News on June 6 emphasising the importance of the immigration company's circular. "The object it proposes," the editor wrote, "is demanded with one voice by representatives of every interest in the State. All the other Southern States agree with us on the subject; few of them, however, are so well fixed for attracting and using white labor as Texas. We are envied by them in this respect, and if they had our opportunity it would be effectively used. Cavers and caviling are never men to work, they have always to be neglected. In this case they may as well be done first as last. We do not advise the people to support any scheme which they do not approve; but we do advise them not to wait until they get everything precisely to suit themselves....We hope, therefore, that the people generally will be

¹⁷ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 6, 1866.

able to approve what has been done, so far as to give the enter-
 prise their hearty cooperation."¹⁸

In the same issue of the Herald there appeared a list of those who were authorized to take subscriptions for stock. There were thirty-six counties where subscriptions would be taken by sub-agents. More than a hundred places were listed where books would be opened. Thirty-seven were important business and banking houses¹⁹ in Galveston.

From the start there had been some dissension, and reports of envy, doubt, and criticism. These attitudes became more evident during June as the crop prospects throughout the state appeared to be fairly good. In North Texas and parts of the southern and southwestern parts of the state where the cattlemen were in the ascendancy, there was least interest in immigration, and greatest criticism of plans for it. The cattlemen were particularly averse to the use of state lands for encouraging immigration. Of most importance, however, especially to Affleck, was the financial condition of the state. Although Texas had been hurt less by the devastation of war, and although there was comparatively more money in the state than in any other section of the South, there was little

¹⁸ Ibid.; Dallas Herald, June 7, 23, 1866.

¹⁹ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 6, 11, 1866.

cash and the unsettled condition tended to encourage the people to hoard what money they had. The state was considering selling²⁰ the Panhandle to meet its financial obligations. Although the Galveston News emphasized the fact that the Negro would not do as a freed laborer, the reports indicated that there was not so much bitter complaint from over the state as earlier, and thus not so²¹ great a demand for immigrants.

The Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company advertisement began to appear with the June 11 issue of the Galveston News and²² continued regularly for a month. The people were encouraged to buy stock and show their support even though they could afford²³ only one share.

²⁰ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 8, 1866; Miller, Financial History of Texas, 156-95; Tyler, History of Bell County, 247-50.

²¹ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 8, 1866. Two days later in the columns of the same paper, there appeared the report from a correspondent that: "His [Major General Kiddoo's] activities and orders, since he has had charge in Texas, have elicited the commendation and thanks of all who have had any transactions with him." It stated further that the Negroes were generally behaving well and were usually faithful to their contracts. Ibid., June 10, 1866. See also Gideon Lincoln to J. C. Snively, September 1, 1866, in Lincoln Papers. See for different view, Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 6, 8, 1866. An editorial, June 6, stated that "There is no place in the South where...[the Negro] can be always kept from foolish and demoralizing notions. We have never known so many similar declarations upon any one subject as upon the failure of the free negro as an agricultural laborer." See also, Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 180; Tyler, History of Bell County, 245-58.

²² Galveston News, June 11, 1866, at passim.

²³ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 11, 13, 1866.

By editorial, news story, and correspondence every encouragement was given to the company. Stock was offered from the News office itself. Although the Houston Telegraph at times had not been as favorably disposed to the movement as its competitor, by the middle of June there was wholehearted co-operation on the part of both papers.²⁴ The support of the ladies was sought when an editorial was printed entitled "House Servants to Order." There was no reason why the women of the state should have to undergo the hardships that were facing them; good servants were within the reach of everyone. "The method to attain good servants," the editorial stated, "is to apply at once to the Executive Committee for the formation of the Texas Land, Labor, and Immigration Company, and give an order for such servants as you need. The gentlemen composing the committee are of first standing in our community, and actuated by the highest public motive to action, have acceded to the frequently expressed wish that they should endeavor to inaugurate the immigration movement this fall. They have accordingly made a temporary arrangement with Mr. Affleck, who is about to go to Europe, under which this gentlemen [sic] agrees to fill orders for servants, laborers and operatives under instructions from the committee on specified

²⁴ Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, June 15, at seq. See also, Dallas Herald, June 29, 30, 1866.

terms." It was added that the ladies would have less difficulty in keeping their beauty if they had some dependable persons to do
 25
 their work.

The most important newspaper accounts were written by Affleck or were instigated by him; when he was too busy to write, there was much less space given to immigration and labor problems. The editors did not appear to be disposed to discriminate against other immigration projects, but doubtless they did show favoritism, largely because of the ability of Affleck to act as a press agent. Accounts of the activities of the agents connected with other companies were printed, but they were not given as favorable notice as those of the
 26
 Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company.

Affleck's position at this time was rather anomalous because he was without funds. Nevertheless, he had to simulate prosperity. At one time he found it necessary to write to his son to be careful of the expenses on the plantation as "I have been forced, since my return, to creep along as well as I could, with very little money,"
 27
 because "it would have ruined me to show my poverty." This was, of course, written when he was promoting plans that would entail the

25 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 13, 1866.

26 Ibid., June 18, et seq. and also other editions of that newspaper for similar dates. The Houston Telegraph and the Dallas Herald copied many of the articles from the Galveston News.

27 Affleck to Dunbar, June 15, 1866.

expenditure of sums running into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Throughout July and the first days of August, 1866, Affleck was extremely busy trying to get contracts for immigrants and to sell stock in the company. He traveled over most of the southern part of the state. His real optimism at the beginning of the journey increased for a time, but before the trip was completed, the outlook had become very dark. In early July, Affleck wrote that he was "working almost day & night. Go to Hempstead tomorrow, on my way down the Brazos, resolved to call on almost every planter.

28 Affleck found time to advise the Louisiana Commissioner of Immigration, Thomas Cottman, and to offer his services if they should be needed further. Doubtless he hoped that there would be aid coming from that source. The Louisiana Bureau, under the law passed by the Louisiana legislature, could use its funds only for agents' salaries, for the protection of the immigrants when they had arrived in this country, and for advertisement of the advantages to be found in immigrating to Louisiana. None could be used for transportation or assistance in bringing over prospective settlers. In advising Cottman, Affleck showed the difficulties faced by southern states in getting emigrants to settle on their lands. Prejudices that had been formed by the propaganda of the northern agents must be overcome. Agents must meet the emigrants before they left their native countries. "Such prejudice has been aroused," Affleck wrote Cottman, "by Agents of those Northern & Western Land Agents, against the South, that none are coming here until a strong effort is used to induce them. I circulated a great many pamphlets, which did not a little good; and have agents, employed by myself, now at work." Affleck's company was organized to overcome the difficulty that was faced by the Louisiana Bureau, he pointed out. His organization would be able to assist worthy people in getting passage to this country. He intimated that the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company would be interested in working in conjunction with the Louisiana commission. Affleck to Cottman, June 28, 1866. See Louisiana Acts, 1866, No. 103, pp. 198-202. The commissioner was to receive \$3,500 a year, and agents in foreign ports were not to receive over \$500. See also the act for the protection of immigrants. *Ibid.*, No. 127, pp. 242-52.

I shall reach Galveston about the 13th....I must have orders for
 500 at least, of adults. And I want 1,000."²⁹

Some of Affleck's letters to the newspapers were highly optimistic. He visited the plantation of a Mr. Cheraud, who had been successful in using French immigrants for some time before the Civil War. His success since the war was so much greater than that of places depending on Negro labor that Affleck wrote a long, enthusiastic letter to the Negs concerning the experiment. Peasants from certain sections of France would be the ideal workers to replace the Negroes in the low-lying sections of the state where the Scotch and English could not live. Affleck's hopes for immigration took new life after he had seen the successful operations of Cheraud;³⁰ he became most enthusiastic about bringing in French labor. In writing to M. E. Noyes, of Oude, France, who had made a tentative agreement with Affleck concerning an agency, the Texan expressed sanguine hopes for French immigration to Texas. He informed Noyes that he might consider himself hired at \$1,000 a year, and, if³¹ nothing unforeseen happened, the work would be begun soon.

New factors entered into the picture to cause Affleck much concern. Competition for the orders for bringing in immigrants now

29 Affleck to Lafone, July 14, 1866. The letter is evidently misdated.

30 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, July 23, 1866.

31 Affleck to M. E. Noyes, August 2, 1866.

endangered his plans. Many persons appeared to favor dealing with an established company. Frederick Makeig of Grimes County, the principal competitor, represented Ranger and Company of Houston, who were agents of a ship line to Europe. Makeig had had experience in the Australian immigration movement, and was as thoroughly posted on the process of getting immigrants, if not more so, than was Affleck. Makeig had another advantage in absence of the enemies³² that Affleck had made in his widespread enterprises. Another factor of great consequence in preventing Affleck from getting the

³² Houston Daily Telegraph, July 28, 1866; Galveston Daily News, July 12, August 1, 1866. Some opinions concerning immigration proposals indicated that there were personal feelings involved in the reaction to the Land, Labor and Immigration Company scheme. When Affleck was attacked by a writer from Navasota in the Houston Daily Telegraph, "Senor" of Grimes County and the editor were quick to come to his defense. The letter from Navasota was signed "Every Man to his Own Trade." It severely criticized the letters that Affleck had written offering to bring in immigrants and to help revive the prosperity of Houston and Galveston. "Well, noting the variety of subjects urged by Thomas Affleck, of Glenblythe, as involving great interest, and to which he calls the attention of the public, with the reminder, that he is going to Europe the 1st of July, A. D. 1866, we cannot see that we lose much in his going or staying, as there is a leakage in his suggestions that does not comport well with the means and the end to be gained. We are admirers of brain, but we must confess that Thomas Affleck of Glenblythe does not meet our ideal, nor yet satisfy us that he will supply our farms with yeomen. When we pay taxes, which we are willing, to encourage emigration, we shall, as a citizen, require of our representatives of Grimes, that the Commissioner of Emigration shall be some representative planter, well known to the community, in whom we can have confidence. And we are forced to the conclusion that Thomas Affleck of Glenblythe may be eminently skilled in pruning twigs, and grafting, and preparing cuttings, and selling them at fair prices; but if there is any utility in this fact, we think he can subserve the public good more by increasing his supply of plum, cherry, apple and peach trees, as we are fond of fruit, than in demanding of his 'beloved State' a mission, for which he is certainly unqualified." Houston Daily Telegraph, May 30, June 8, 13, 1866.

orders necessary to guarantee the success of the enterprise was the appearance in the early harvest season of the cotton army worm. His letters and other reports from throughout the state show that there was danger of almost utter destruction of the cotton crop. This, added to other difficulties faced by the planter, made future plans very uncertain and the outlook disheartening. The problem of procuring labor for raising cotton for the worms to destroy was not one that would create much excitement. In the lowland plantations, Affleck reported, the destruction would be greatest. He informed his agent in France that, "unfortunately, the worm (Caterpillar) which is so destructive to the cotton plant--the larva of the *Glyphodes Pyrausta* made its appearance & is destroying the crop in the country where these laborers are wanted. This caused a retraction of orders already given, & an arrest of anything more at present. I have hopes, however, that not only will those which were given & withdrawn be renewed, but that I shall receive many more."

Affleck informed Andrew Hammett of this new worry in a letter explaining his delay in returning to Europe. "Under the arrangement I made, forming the Texas Land Labor & Immigration Co. I was receiving many applications for farm laborers, servants &c..., when that terrible pest the cotton-worm made his appearance & checked up

33 Affleck to Noyes, August 2, 1866. See also New Orleans Picayune, June 29, 1866; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, June 20, 1866.

the whole business! There will not be a green-leaf in Texas, eye, or in La., Miss., Ga. or Ala. within less than 30 days! This is a fearful blow upon the already unhappy South. Texas, however, is best off of all the ex-Confederate Sisterhood. We will make a tolerable aggregate. All of the German crops have been planted early & well worked. And wherever there was no Freedmen's Bureau the negroes did some work. Some doing moderately well, ³⁴ all things considered."

At times Affleck expressed hope that the worms would not be ³⁵ so destructive as had at first been expected. On July 1 he wrote that the cotton crop was doomed to destruction, although there would have been a fairly good crop if the worm had held off for a few weeks. On the last day of the month, he wrote to John Adriance, a close friend, asking for assistance in getting orders for stock. The reason for his request lay in the fact that the predicted destruction of the cotton had hindered his operations. "I trust, tho' I fear at the same time," he added, "that the worm is not doing as ³⁶ great damage as anticipated." The only hope seemed to lie in divine providence, who could keep the injury at a minimum. "This evening, while writing, in the open doors and windows," Affleck wrote on August 2, "and by a bright lamp, one cotton moth, the first I

³⁴ Affleck to Andrew Hannay, Liverpool, July 27, 1866.

³⁵ Id. to Kiddoo, July 3, 1866.

³⁶ Id. to John Adriance, July 31, 1866.

have seen here, flew in; and, at the same time, the desk is covered with scores of the same Ichneumon that saved the crop in 1848!" "What a blessing to Texas," he added, "if the Almighty permits the destruction of that destroyer, the cotton worm, by this its enemy! All this is in his hands." The indomitable Gideon Lincoxon, however, later gave as his judgment that nothing would save the crops when the worms appeared. "Not even the ichneumon," he wrote, "which was promised to us at the first appearance of the cotton-worm last summer, by a great friend to the agricultural interests of Texas, and for which he so devoutly and heartily thanked the Lord, has been able to diminish perceptibly the number of their devouring hosts."³⁷ Affleck wrote a lengthy article for the Galveston News giving a description of the habits of the worms and the best methods for controlling them, hoping no³⁸ doubt to lessen the fear of their destruction.

Another influence in lessening the interest in the immigration movement was the fact that the policies of General Kiddoo as head of the Freedmen's Bureau in Texas had continued to be fairly

³⁷ Texas Almanac for 1867, p. 195. See also Galveston Daily News, July 19, 29, August 2, 3, 19, 1866; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, August 8, 1866.

³⁸ Galveston Daily News, August 2, September 1, 1866. See also, Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 5, 12, 28, 1866, for other information concerning the depredations of the worms.

satisfactory. Although there were complaints during July and August, their bitterness was less marked. Where the influence of the new commander was felt, there was increasing optimism for
39
the chances of making crops with Negro labor.

Doubtless one of the most important but then imperceptible reasons for a lessening of interest in foreign immigration was the unpromoted flow of population from other states and countries. Beginning with the closing months of the war, emigrants had been pouring into the state to escape the destruction of invading armies. Increasing numbers were now coming to Texas to escape the consequences of military defeat. There was little to hold many people in the older states as their homes and fields were destroyed. It was not so difficult to break the ties as it had been before the
40
war. More and more foreign immigrants were coming into the state as a result of the encouragement of fellow countrymen who had settled there earlier. Polish, Swedish, German, and other nationalities were
41
noted in the newspapers as arriving from time to time.

39 Galveston Daily News, July 12, 29, 1866. On July 19 the following appeared: "Gen. Kiddoo's orders--his conduct, official and private, have not only caused perceptible change in the conduct of freedmen but to some extent have reconciled the planters to bear with patience this instrument of ruin, demoralization and bad feeling, and the General is fast winning the esteem and respect of those against whom he is said to have fought so gallantly. True worth and nobility should be appreciated, and, in meting out our praise, prejudices should not entirely control us."

40 See Galveston Tri-Weekly News, July 6, 16, September 16, 21, for information concerning emigration from other states.

41 Bronham Banner, July 18, quoted in Galveston Tri-Weekly News, July 23, 1866; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 12, 14, 16, 21, 1866; Galveston Daily News, July 12, 1866.

That Affleck was becoming somewhat discouraged with the prospect of making a fortune from the immigration movement is shown in the fact that he became interested for a time in other projects. As on former occasions, he began to encourage the cattlemen of Texas to enter into some sort of an organization for shipping meat to Europe.⁴² He wrote Lafone of unlimited prospects in preserving and shipping meat and again urged him to make ready to enter the project.⁴³ During July, Affleck had begun plans for rebuilding Houston and Galveston and for realizing a profit from the increased value of property. And at one time he wrote to his wife that he had decided to set up a cotton manufactory at Glenblythe as soon as he had spare time to arrange for it.⁴⁴

Affleck had decided, and was encouraged in his decision by those interested in the immigration company, to go to Austin for the meeting of the legislature in August. There he was to see about the passage of various bills that were vital to the success of the plans

⁴² Pamphlet, To Stock Men of Texas, August 1, 1866; Affleck to wife, July 16, 1866; id. to Lafone, August 5, 1866.

⁴³ Affleck to Lafone, August 5, 1866.

⁴⁴ Ibid.; id. to wife, July 16, 1866. On August 5, 1866 there appeared a letter from "Lunar Caustic" of De Witt County in the Galveston Tri-Weekly News that would give some indication why Affleck was becoming more interested in other projects. This writer stated that: "The great immigration movement inaugurated by Mr. Affleck has had little success in this region. I know of but one planter who has gone heartily into it, subscribed his money and given his order." "Caustic" was in favor of the movement.

projected. Before he left for the capital, however, he spent several days at home writing letters and preparing for his departure for Europe immediately after completion of his work at Austin. He wrote several letters to almanac publishers in Scotland explaining his desire to publicize the opportunities in Texas for labor and capital. In each case he inquired about the price for including the material in the almanac and also the cost of several thousand copies of the publication for his own use, and assured the publisher that the articles would be readable. Affleck knew the value of almanac advertisement and realized that no other medium would reach the cotter class so well. ⁴⁵

Affleck also found time to prepare a letter to Texas stockmen. He pointed out that the livestock supply was greater than ever in Texas and that every available means must be used to revive old markets

⁴⁵ Affleck to Francis Orr and Sons, Glasgow, July 27, 1866. To this company he wrote: "I am desirous of adding to the entire edition or editions of the Belfast Almanac for 1867, 12 or 16 pages of reading or readable matter as an advert., descriptive of the state and her resources. It will be carefully prepared so as to be in no respect, offensive or objectionable. We need population. Being satisfied that this state offers greater and better inducements than any other, to the surplus population of my native country, I am devoting myself to making her known there." See Affleck to S. Dinwoodie, Lockhart, Scotland, July 27, 1866. If Dinwoodie would make his price moderate Affleck might "insert neat wood engravings, as of a cotton plant in full leaf blossom & fruit &c. on two or three pages, & occupy additional pages in your advertg. sheet to complete what I want to say." He added, "Be Moderate. The circulation would be of great advantage to you." See also, *id.* to Publishers, Farmer's and Gardener's Almanac, Edinburgh, July 27, 1866; *id.* to Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, July 27, 1866.

and to open new ones. Since Kansas and Missouri had recently passed laws prohibiting transit of cattle across these states at certain times of the year, the northern markets were largely closed. All kinds of meat were still needed in the North, however, as well as in the West Indies and Europe. Affleck explained that he had studied the problem and had come to the conclusion that, although it was impractical to ship large live beefs, young cattle and sheep could be successfully exported to Europe and to the North. The scarcity of cattle caused by the cattle plague in Europe would make the profits large enough for shippers to profit even if they lost part of the loads.

Another prospect presented to stock growers was the use of a new process for preserving meats for exportation. This method had not as yet been introduced into this country but would soon be used by Affleck and his associates.

The reason for his appeal, Affleck continued, was to procure cargoes for a direct steamship line that he was hoping to get for Texas. "The heavy direct tax and still heavier export duty upon cotton, have the immediate effect of sending the bulk of that staple north,"⁴⁶ and so it was necessary to find other products for return

⁴⁶ There was no export tax levied on cotton. It is possible that he meant the high cost of bills of lading. A tax of three cents per pound was levied on cotton before it could be shipped or sold. See George P. Sanger (ed.), The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America, 1865-1866 (Boston, 1866), (Public Laws), Chap. CLXXXIV, 98-101.

cargoes of ships. Exportation of cattle and sheep was the solution to the problem. Affleck therefore asked the co-operation of the livestock raisers of the state. He desired them to pledge "themselves individually, to give so many fat beeves to any company or individual who may test this thing by trying to carry to England, say 300 head of young cattle and 1,000 head of sheep. And, for the successful carrying of say ten tons of beef and mutton in fresh and marketable condition to England, to give so many more beeves." He wanted the stockmen also to pledge themselves to take \$250 to \$1,000 in stock if the experiment proved a success. The great aid that this would be to the immigration movement and to the state was pointed out.⁴⁷ Pledges were attached to the printed letter to be filled in. To Lafone he wrote that "this circular will gain us the great influence of the stock-farmers of the state, with the Legislature--an important object at present."⁴⁸

A few days later Affleck reported to Lafone that he had finally reached an agreement for a plot of land for the provision plant location. Mrs. Houston had been convinced of the efficacy of selling the property to them, and had made an offer open until November 1. The price was to be \$20,000 in four equal payments with interest at 8 per cent on all deferred payments. The only difficulty foreseen would be in making the first payment of \$5,000. The other payments could be made from profits. The town of Lafone was now a definite probability,

⁴⁷ To the Stock Men of Texas, August 1, 1866.

⁴⁸ Affleck to Lafone, August 5, 1866.

and it would be laid out in "the prettiest location in Galveston Bay. And the only one on which a town would ever be built."⁴⁹

The next step was to get the legislature to pass necessary laws, and, if possible, to get a grant of lands or other assistance from the state. Affleck realized that there was a limit to the extent of aid that either the people or the state could give, but he seemed to believe that if he asked for enough things, something of value would be forthcoming. Politics was not his usual field of interest, but the war and its aftermath had changed many things.

⁴⁹ Ibid. Affleck explained that he had been able to get such a fair price because "the widow has seven children to educate; &, like thousands of others here, must have money." The property was 5,000 acres and much of it was improved. Good timber and ready access to the Gulf were other good points.

XIV

LOBBYIST

The eleventh legislature of Texas was called to meet on August 6, 1866. A large majority of those who had been chosen to represent the people in both the House and Senate were from the conservative ranks. James W. Throckmorton, a Conservative Unionist,¹ who had been elected governor, was inaugurated on August 9. Four days later, word was received that the newly elected officials met with the President's approval. It was believed at the time that Johnson's acquiescence would assure a satisfactory relationship with the government at Washington.²

Affleck was confident of political aid from the state legislature. He believed that, because of his prominent place in state affairs, he would have little trouble in getting what he desired. This belief was strengthened by the fact that he had as his aides

¹ Throckmorton had served in the Confederate army, but had not been in favor of secession and had fought the adoption of the secession resolution. Therefore, he could be classed as a "Conservative Unionist" although he was supported in the election by secessionist forces. He had served as president of the convention of 1866, and had gained the respect of a majority of Texans for his attempts to save the state from radicalism. Formally requested to become the candidate for governor by the conservative forces, he had won easily over the radical candidate, Eliza M. Pease. See Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 108-14; Wortham, History of Texas, IV, 289, 337, 339, 343; V, 5, 10-13. For a biography of Throckmorton see Claude Elliott, Leatherstock--The Life History of a Texas Patriot (San Antonio, 1938).

² Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 112-14.

and counseled the legislators from Houston and Galveston, who were prominent as lawmakers. On July 31 he showed his confidence when he wrote to Richardson, editor of the Galveston News, requesting to know: "What can I do for you there. I will remain, if possible, until I carry through the measures in view."³ To strengthen the bargaining position of the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company, Affleck wrote to C. R. Hughes, secretary of the company, asking whether it "might not be advisable to extend the number of the directory so as to include those from the interior--such men as Judge Hancock, Throckmorton, and Herndon. I fear the effect of having only Houston & Galveston business men. Moreover, it would give us great influence with the State Gov't. in the commencement of the enterprise. By offering Throckmorton a place on the Directory, we might be more sure of a bonus of land--perhaps a loan of bonds."⁴

By August 10 Affleck was settled in Austin. He had been well received and expected that he would complete his work soon and be ready to leave for home and Europe.⁵

³ Affleck to Richardson, July 30, 1866.

⁴ Id. to C. R. Hughes, July 31, 1866. Judge George Hancock was prominently mentioned as a candidate for the United States Senate by certain of the Unionists. John H. Herndon was a prominent businessman and plantation owner of Columbia, Texas.

⁵ Id. to wife, August 11, 1866.

One of his first moves in Austin was to call upon the Governor to explain his purposes and to ask for co-operation. The impression he made was apparently favorable, for within a few days he was again in counsel with the chief executive. "He met me frankly & kindly," he wrote his wife; "told me he had carefully read over all the papers I sent him in which [sic] I was already apprised of--and stated very clearly his support and approval." The subject matter of the bills discussed at this second meeting included: a charter for the company; Affleck's appointment as commissioner of agriculture and immigration with a "modest" salary for himself and several subagents; "An appropriation of money or bonds or most probably lands to be sold in England to do the printing &c. needed to make Texas known abroad"; and means of controlling labor contracts. Affleck refrained from requesting a bonus of land for the company, but his other proposals met with the executive's approval. After this interview he held a meeting in his room at the hotel to discuss the bills with the members of the legislature who were to guide them through passage.⁶

On August 13, when word was received that President Johnson had recognized the civil government of the state,⁷ Affleck was comforted by the news and wrote his wife that: "I am...sanguine that I shall carry through all I want. And, Oh! if God will bless my efforts, I may

⁶ Ibid.; id. to id., August 13, 1866.

⁷ See Sanger (ed.), Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States, 1865-1866 (Public Laws), Appendix, iv-vii. The official proclamation was not issued until August 20.

during the next year or two, if spared, clear off all debts, & have some certainty for the future." He enclosed a copy of the circular letter to the Texas stockmen: "Cannot tell what results may follow from the stock-breeder, but it has had a good effect with the governor & members."⁸

By August 17 Affleck was convinced that he would get more from the legislature than he had anticipated. His initial bills had been introduced into the House on August 15 by M. S. Munson of Galveston,⁹ and two days later had been given a unanimous favorable report by the judiciary committee.¹⁰ The Governor, meanwhile, had presented Affleck with a copy of his address to the legislature, an act which caused his hopes to soar. To his wife he wrote: "The Governor was kind enough to give me the draft of his message to read. It fully approves of the whole measures. And further recommends, unasked, that a bonus of lands be given to any Company keeping up a Steamship line, between Liverpool & Galveston for two years. And I will get that passed too."¹¹

Under these conditions Affleck was surprised to learn soon after the bills were introduced that considerable opposition might be expected from some of the legislators. "It is very difficult to foretell," he complained, "how a Legislative body will vote. And I dare make no effort except in the quietest possible way."¹²

⁸ Affleck to wife, August 13, 1866.

⁹ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, August 22, 1866.

¹⁰ Affleck to wife, August 17, 1866.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. to id., August 19, 1866.

In appraising his support in the legislature, Affleck listed as his most loyal aides the following members of the lower house: M. S. Munson, who represented Galveston and Brazoria counties; J. T. Brady, Harris County; C. Kyle, Caldwell, Hays, and Blanco counties; and D. M. Short, Shelby County. Of these, Munson had a reputation as an able parliamentarian and debater. Although Affleck did not list his personal friend, Ashbel Smith of Harris County, Smith no doubt could be counted upon. Because of Smith's temper, however, he was not to be depended upon to guide legislation.¹³ The support to be expected in the Senate was unknown, but this fact caused little concern, if we may judge by a letter of August 18. Affleck wrote that "We hope to see the Governor's Message sent in tomorrow. Immediately thereafter bills will be brought up & pushed thro' as fast as will be prudent....But I may not even get through this week! I cannot push it."¹⁴

The language of that part of the governor's message which was headed "Immigration" indicates Affleck's influence. He began, "The subject of labor is one of vast importance to our people," and commercial companies were in the process of formation "with a view to proper action on this subject." The Governor recommended carrying out the objects of the ordinance passed by the constitutional convention of 1866 "Authorizing the appointment of a Commissioner of Statistics for the promotion of immigration." To make the experiment successful an intelligent commissioner

¹³ *Ibid.* to *id.*, August 17, 21, 1866; Texas Almanac for 1867, pp. 72-73.

¹⁴ Affleck to wife, August 19, 1866. See also, Galveston Tri-Weekly News, August 21, 31, 1866.

should be selected, whose duty it would be to disseminate information concerning the capacities and opportunities of the state. "In making laws upon this subject," he continued, "care should be had to require of those in charge of any duties imposed, that criminals, paupers, &c., from other countries or States, should be excluded." What Texas needed was an "industrious, intelligent class of people" who would be received as "citizens of the country, entitled to the respect due them as such, and to equal protection of the laws, and who may for themselves and their children aspire to participate, in common with our own people, in sustaining and controlling the future destinies of the State."¹⁵ Laws for the protection of the employer and employee were recommended; "contracts will necessarily have to be entered into at home and abroad--expenses will be incurred, and a judicious system of laws for the protection of the immigrant and the home laborer and his employer, becomes a matter of necessity."¹⁶ Finally, the Governor felt he would be remiss

¹⁵ Message of Gov. J. W. Throckmorton to the Legislature (Austin, 1866). Copy in Affleck Papers.

¹⁶ Ibid. Affleck had had a lawyer draft bills on this subject in early May, and they had been published in the newspapers. These bills were entitled "An Act regulating contracts for labor" and "Of offenses against Public Policy and Economy." The first one was modeled after the congressional act of July 4, 1864, which provided regulations for entering contracts and the form thereof. Penalties or damages by criminal action or at civil suit were provided for breaking contracts. The second act was to provide punishment for those who would assist or encourage a laborer to break a contract. Affleck had explained that they were aimed merely "to reduce to a more easily comprehended form the laws now existing; and include a clause making contracts properly entered into in other Countries, binding here upon parties so contracting." Galveston Tri-Weekly News, May 26, 28, 1866; George P. Sanger (ed.), Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America, 1863-1864 (Boston, 1864), (Public Laws), 385. For similar measures see, Virginia Acts, 1866, Chaps. 142, 143, pp. 234-36.

if he did not recommend "encouragement to any company who would put on a permanent line of steamships between Galveston and some port in Europe." This was an "extremely important subject," he warned, both because of its aid to direct trade and to immigration. Throckmorton believed that "a grant of lands, to be located beyond the present line of surveys, the title to be divested out of the state after the continuance of such line of steamers in the trade for a specified (say two or more years) would perhaps be the only resource at our command that could properly be resorted to for the purpose."¹⁷

Shortly after the presentation of the Governor's message, Affleck wrote to his wife that he had succeeded far beyond his expectations, "being so very poor a politician."¹⁸ He had made friends not only with

¹⁷ Message of Gov. J. H. Throckmorton. If a comparison is made between the Governor's recommendations and the laws that Affleck was trying to get through the legislature, the similarities clearly appear. The acts as he listed them after the Message was delivered were as follows: "Act to incorporate the Texas Land Labor & Imm. Co.; Act to appoint a Comm. of Immign. Sc.; Act relating to Alien passengers; Acts (2) relating to labor contracts; Act to encourage steam-ship line from Europe; Act to encourage Manufactures; Act to Incorporate San Marcos Irrn. Co.; Act to incorporate the El Paso Irrigation & Manufacturing Co.; Act instructing the Land office to have a map of each county prepared for office of Comm. of Immigration; Act instructing the Land office to prepare for publication a large map of the State." List in Affleck Papers in the hand of Affleck.

¹⁸ An indication of the influence that Affleck must have had with Throckmorton is shown in the fact that the Governor had written the following letter on January 21, to Ben H. Epperson, in reply to a letter expressing interest in immigration. "I do tell you honestly and candidly--I wish to see no yankee in my neighborhood--I desire no foreigner of any class-- and so help me God, I would go home & spend all the days of my life, teach my children honest industry, and live within the earnings of our own circle rather than see these cheating canting hypocrites, or foreign scum among us--It is a mistaken idea my dear Sir that it will add to your prosperity-- It will not--But it will people the country with a class I dont want--it

the Governor but also with many prominent members of the legislature. An important task had been imposed upon him as a result of the favor with which his proposals had been received. "The governor & several members, today, asked me, to discuss in some leading Northern Journals, the selling to the U. S. Gov't., the panhandle part of the state, for colonising Indians. We have very little use for it, and the supposition is that the Gov't. will pay a liberal price for it, giving the state a supply of money, so much needed for so many purposes, at this time. I'll try it."

On August 23 the bills proposed by Affleck, except the one granting aid to a steamship line, which was not introduced until that day, were ready for the third reading in the House. Unforeseen delays were encountered, however, and that night he gave a gloomy report to his wife. "I met with a trying disappointment today!! The three more important

will make new fields & put more ground in cultivation & build towns and cities--but pray for whose benefit and enjoyment? Surely not ours--but for more greedy psalm singing, lying, swindling yankees & sour krouts & blackguard irish--How does it affect us as a people as a mass?--a few may grow rich--with follies & dissipations and luxuries--our children grow up--they catch the spirit of speculation & fine & fast living and finally they marry these d--a--d negro worshipping skunks and southern blood is tainted & spoiled forever--I want none of it." If Texas would rely on her own resources, she would become truly great. "But with their mixture of Yankee & Dutch & Irish & Scotch--our own blood & manners will become corrupted--a mongrel mangy breed will be the consequence." Elliott, Leath-great, 115-16. Elliott says that "There is no record of Throckmorton's opposition to immigration in the proceedings of the convention [of 1866], but he undoubtedly objected to any act, on the part of the convention, designed to encourage it." Ibid., 115. This indicates a remarkable change of attitude by the time he delivered his Message. See also Gideon Lincoln to S. B. Buckley, August 30, 1866, in Lincoln Papers; Affleck to wife, August 21, 1866.

bills had been put in the speaker's hands to bring forward. But other matters were brought up; & noon came when the election of Senator had to be gone into; & instead of seeing them all pushed through, when I might have hoped to get off on Tuesday, they were not introduced at all."¹⁹

Meanwhile he was worried because of his wife's impatience. Earlier he had written that if she so desired he would "drop it all...go to work just as earnestly & as happily on the farm. You must make up your mind about that against my return. But I do think it would be a pity now." Although he realized that it was very hard on her to hear his creditors speak of him in derogatory terms, she must bear up for a short while longer. "I could be tolerable patient," he added a few days later, "if I could see you more so! And if I could hear from Lafone. But I must confess to great anxiety. But at same time, as Comm. of Imm., as General Agent of Imm. Co., & with power to appoint Assist. Commrs., & power to contract for a steam line on the part of the Govt., & also to do the transportation of the company, I should be able to arrange all I want, if not with Lafone, then with some one else. If the appropriation is made, I shall get half of it with me, I presume."²⁰

Affleck was still in Austin on August 31, and there seemed to be little hope for his early departure. He was frantic at the delay, but there was nothing he could do. "The bill appointing or authorizing the

¹⁹ Affleck to wife, August 23, 1866.

²⁰ Ibid. He reported at this time that the steamship bill granting 100,000 acres to a company that would put on a successful line had been favorably reported from the committee.

Gov. to appoint a Commr. of Immn. & Agric. after a resistance I never dreamt of, passed the house yesterday by 52 to 32! It has now gone to the Senate; where it will also meet with resistance; on the same grounds-- that we don't want any more further population anyhow!" The salary of the commissioner of immigration had been reduced to \$2,500 and the allotment for advertisement cut from \$10,000 to \$5,000. The only way that the bill could be hurried through was by a suspension of the rules in the Senate, and since this would take a two-thirds vote, such action seemed highly improbable.²¹ The bills exempting from taxation capital invested in manufactures, and granting a charter to the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company were moving along without much opposition.²²

As usual, Affleck was not content to confine his attention to one group of projects. While his immigration bills were being considered by the legislature, he assisted in drawing up a proposed charter for a company to irrigate the San Marcos Valley.²³ The Rio Grande Valley also beckoned. It was proposed that he and three members of the legislature in conjunction with other influential citizens of the southeastern part of the state should get a charter from the state for the irrigation of a large part of this valley. The charter was presented to the legislature,

²¹ Ibid. to id., August 31, 1866.

²² Ibid. Concerning the bill exempting capital invested in manufactures for a period of five years, "including meat curing" he said: "It will come up again perhaps on Monday for final passage in the house. It is supposed to pass. It would be a considerable item in our case, Lafone and I, because it includes 200 acres of land; which, in our case, would include costly buildings, machinery, &c., & the village."

²³ This bill was passed, but his name does not appear among the incorporators. He does not mention the project further except in a general way.

and through part of the influence of legislative members who were incorporators, it was granted without difficulty.²⁴ The company, to be called the El Paso Irrigation and Manufacturing Company, was granted the right "to irrigate the Valley of the Rio Grande, from the line between Texas and New Mexico to the lower Southern line of El Paso County; to transport freight and passengers by canal, and to carry on various manufactures and other business pursuits in said valley."²⁵

Affleck, when writing to his wife on August 31, six days before the final passage of the charter, explained the plan thus: "If it should happen that anything has occurred to deter or prevent Lafons going on, or anything else that would render it desirable, I have the most tempting inducements held out to go to El Paso! What think you of that? An immensely advantageous Charter for irrigating & planting & manufacturing there is before the House & will be granted, altho' it startled everybody. It was projected by myself! I think I see hands & eyes raised! Can't help it. But so it is. If granted, the four of us interested, viz Mr. Munson (ask Sayles about him) and two residents of the El Paso valley have it all in our hands, & can sell it out, if we desire for a large sum. It costs me nothing, but the gain of occupations during three of these dreary days away from you. And Munson goes

See Gamnal (ed.), Laws of Texas, 1866 (Special Laws), 140-45.

24. The charter was granted to the following persons and their associates: G. W. Garcia, M. S. Munson, Thomas Affleck, S. A. Maverick, H. S. Gillet, Hugh Stephenson. Garcia, Munson, and Hancock were members of the legislature. The others were land speculators and prominent leaders in the state. Ibid., 271-75.

25 Ibid.; Texas Almanac for 1867, pp. 72-73.

26
out there & attends to matters, in connection with the others."

The lower house of the legislature, in the meantime, had shown no tendency to hurry in passing Affleck's other bills. Serious opposition developed against the immigration commissioner bill, for several reasons. There was a deep feeling among many of the legislators against foreigners, especially the Germans, who had never been sympathetic toward the South in the war. Others believed that if the population increased, there would be danger of closing the free ranges that had been used for cattle raising. Personal and sectional rivalries had the effect of dividing the interest of the supporters of immigration. It is not surprising to hear that Affleck had tried many things during his lifetime, "But, of them all, this thing of Legislation, is the last I care to repeat! Waiting, waiting, day after day, the uncertain action of other men, whom you cannot even attempt to

26 Affleck to wife, August 31, 1866. Affleck continued: "We got a charter, giving the entire control of the valley from the line between Texas and New Mexico, 25 miles above El Paso, & the lower line of Presidio County, to irrigate &c., using half the water on the Rio Grande, if we need it. It is notoriously one of the richest valleys & most healthy on earth. Only needing the water which is there, applied to the land; which the inhabitants have not the skill to apply. The cost of applying will be a mere trifle. One of the charter parties, Mr. Garcia, will get leave of absence directly the bill passes, & hasten to El Paso, & purchase up, conditionally--(which he insists he can do, 2 or 300,000 acres at 30 to 50 \$ per acre) all of the land irrigatable. Maverick owns, in one body there, 70 to 80,000 acres! Then, on the opposite, or Mexican side, land can be had still cheaper, & in very large bodies. The other member of the Charter, Mr. French, will proceed to Chihuahua to get a charter from that side, too."

influences! And, then such contemptibly low motives impel them
²⁷
 when they do act!"

On August 28, after the commissioner bill was read for the third time, it passed the House, and was sent on to the Senate. The opposition immediately began to criticize the plan and the bill. On September 2, however, the measure passed the first reading, and was referred to a committee, which kept it until the thirteenth before reporting. On second reading it passed again by a small majority. Then the blow fell. Before the third reading, the bill was amended, and upon a vote of 15-14 for reconsideration, was
²⁸
 laid on the table. This action meant the death of the measure.

The bill to aid direct steam transportation also failed of
²⁹
 passage. This measure was bitterly fought by the inland representatives, for they believed that it would be helpful only to the coastal towns. The quarrel between the Harris County and Galveston County representatives divided the forces of those who should have been united in favor of the measure. Affleck's plans necessarily

27 Id. to id., August 31, September 5, 12, 1866; Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 7, 1866.

28 See original bill in Eleventh Legislature MSS., in Texas State Archives; Texas House Journal, 1866 (Austin, 1867), 171-73, et passim; Texas Senate Journal, 1866 (Austin, 1867), 177, et passim.

29 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, August 31, 1866.

favored Galveston over Houston, as the former city would be port
 30
 of entry.

These bills having to do with alien passengers, labor con-
 tracts, and tampering with laborers met with more success. 31 Mun-
 son, who worked in close collaboration with Affleck, had intro-
 duced the bills regulating labor at the same time he had intro-
 32
 duced Affleck's immigration measures. The labor laws had been
 listed by Affleck as necessary to his plans, and he had presented
 through the newspapers proposed bills almost identical to those
 passed by the legislature. Therefore, it appears that the laws
 to control contracts and labor were initiated by persons interested
 primarily in white rather than in Negro labor. The laws met with

30 Affleck to wife, September 12, 13, 1866. The Galveston News was
 astounded at the close vote when it passed the first reading by only
 a majority of one. "Was there something the matter with the bill?"
 it queried. "Surely the Legislature is not divided so closely upon
 the subject in question." Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 19,
 1866. Affleck wrote that: "After a tremendous struggle, & some 7 or
 8 long and fiery speeches--Munson's quite an eloquent one--the steam-
 ship bill passed the House, by a majority of one only! Its opponents
 will move reconsideration tomorrow! But as that requires a 2/3 vote,
 the friends of the bill do not think it will pass." If not, then it
 goes to the Senate, where there will be another struggle." The next
 day he reported that "I find, to my annoyance, that reconsideration
 does not require a 2/3 vote! And so bitter is the opposition of the
 northern & eastern members, who don't want any more-----dutch! that I
 fear they will vote it down." This fear was fulfilled. Affleck to
 wife, September 12, 1866.

31 Randall, Reconstruction in Texas, 125-26.

32 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, August 22, 31, 1866.

little opposition, however, because they would also be effective
 33
 in relation to Negroes. Thus an integral part of the so-called
 "black code" in Texas was originated for a different purpose than
 that usually cited. The contract law as passed did not specifically
 cover foreign contracts, but it was hoped that they would be pro-
 tested. "Caustic," writing for the Galveston News, said that he had
 had an opportunity to talk with Affleck concerning contracts with im-
 migrants, "and from what he knows of the class of people proposed to
 be imported, he thinks it much more probable that the employers will
 fail to perform their part, than the laborers theirs--that it is much
 more desirable that our legislature should pass laws to protect the
 poor ignorant stranger than the landlord to the manor born." 34

Not in Book
 33 Ibid., August 22, September 19, 27, 1866; list of bills before the
 legislature in Affleck's hand, in Affleck Papers. Professor Ramsdell
 wrote that the labor laws were designed solely for the protection of the
 white employer against the irresponsible Negroes, Ramsdell, Reconstruction
in Texas, 125. It appears from the evidence in the Affleck Papers and from
 other circumstances noted above that the control of the Negroes was only
 a secondary consideration on the part of those responsible for the intro-
 duction of the bills.

34 Galveston Daily News, September 27, 1866. See also Ramsdell, Recon-
 struction in Texas, 123-26. Labor laws were passed for controlling con-
 tracts, tampering with laborers under contract, for the protection of the
 newly arrived immigrant as well as keeping out the mentally, physically,
 and morally undesirable immigrant. Gamuel (ed.), Laws of Texas, 1866,
 pp. 30, 64, 76-79, 80-81.

The act regulating labor contracts provided that a contract for labor
 for longer than one month must be in writing, signed and witnessed in the
 presence of a justice of the peace, a county clerk, or a notary public.
 A contract violated by the laborer forfeited all wages to the time unless
 the laborer were justified in quitting work by harsh treatment, or some
 violation by the employer. One copy of the contract must be deposited

During the legislative session, 125 special laws were passed
 35
 granting charters to companies of all types. It is not surprising,

with the county clerk, and the contract was to be enforced by any court of competent jurisdiction. The county clerks were to keep an alphabetical list of all contracts. All contracts which were to be made with heads of families must embrace the labor of all members of the family, and were binding on all minors. The wages were guaranteed by a lien on one half of the crops, second, however, to rent liens. One half the wages could be retained by the employer until the contract was completed. An employer who willfully failed to carry out his part of the contract was subject to a fine double the amount due the laborer, for his benefit; and any cruelty or neglect by the employer might be summarily punished by fine. In case of sickness the laborer's wages were to cease for the time lost; if the sickness were feigned, the laborer forfeited double the amount of his wages for the time missed. If he refused to work for more than three days, when able, he might be reported to a justice of the peace; and if he still refused to work, he might be made to work on public works. The laborer must work ten hours a day in summer, and nine in winter, unless otherwise stipulated; could not have visitors during work hours; was required to take care of the stock under his control; and was held responsible for injuries willfully done, for disobedience of orders, etc. Laborers engaged in household duties were subject to the calls of the family at all hours, day or night, unless sick, or after 10 P. M. or on Sundays, and even then when such calls were unavoidable or necessary. The laborer might be discharged for habitual laziness, disobedience, violation of contract, etc., but he had right of appeal before a justice of the peace and two citizens, one chosen by the laborer and one by the employer. The law took effect upon its final passage on November 1, 1866. Gammel (ed.), Laws of Texas, 1866, pp. 76-79. The Texas Almanac for 1867, p. 251, stated the laws provided that: "any contract made in a foreign country according to its laws, may be enforced here, if properly authenticated." Although this is not given in the law in Gammel, it does not preclude the fact that this section may have been included. Gammel's work is not completely accurate. Affleck reported that the law included contracts made in foreign countries. Affleck to New Orleans Times, November 7, 1866.

The other law that Affleck supported provided for "the punishment of persons tampering with, persuading or enticing away, harboring, feeding or secreting laborers or apprentices, or for employing laborers or apprentices under contract of service to other persons." Fines were provided up to \$500 and thirty days in jail for breaking the law. Gammel (ed.), Laws of Texas, 1866, pp. 80-81.

Neither of these laws was allowed by the Freedmen's Bureau officials to be enforced insofar as Negroes were concerned. No case has been found affecting white laborers, and the law must have remained a dead letter from its passage. See Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 124-25.

35 The Eleventh Legislature passed 224 special laws, and of these nearly

consequently, to find that the law granting the incorporation of the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company was passed on October 22, 1866. The incorporators were listed as C. B. Stewart, J. C. Massie, J. S. Sellers, C. R. Hughes, G. W. Crawford, William R. Baker, John H. Herndon, and C. S. Longcope. The objectives of the company were to promote immigration, to facilitate the sale and cultivation of lands, and to introduce laborers and skilled operatives. The capital stock was fixed at \$1,000,000 in shares of \$100. The company was granted the privilege of making such differences between preferred and ordinary stock as were deemed necessary to secure success. It was permitted to organize and proceed with business as soon as three hundred shares were subscribed. The principal office of the company was fixed at Galveston.³⁶

Affleck had not met with the success that he had been led to hope for as a result of his early experiences at Austin. Vital to his plans was the immigration commission bill. Although he hoped that after he left Austin this law would be reconsidered and passed, he realized that his goal must be set somewhat lower than originally

half were for companies with proposed large capitalizations. An interesting point in connection with this wholesale granting of charters was the fact that in many cases the names of incorporators included legislators. Also several persons' names appeared on more than one charter. Of the names of incorporators of the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company one is found in fourteen other charters, three appear on three other charters, and one is included on one other charter. In order these were: J. S. Sellers, John H. Herndon, J. C. Massie, C. S. Longcope, and William Baker. Gammon (ed.), Laws of Texas, 1866, (Special Laws), passim.

³⁶ Ibid., 155-57.

planned. "Poor T. A.," wrote Gideon Lincecum. "He was so sanguine! I think it will go quite hard with him. I fear the peoples [sic] representatives have disgusted him so far that he will cease to labor for their dearest interests, by putting a stop to the immigration of the Scotch nation. And then one of the resources of the country--the grass will not be plowed up, nor the cows fith[ed], and he may be so far disgusted that he will give out [sic] the idea of rebuilding the cities of Galveston and Houston. Oh! just see what mischief can follow a single legislative blunder; and there is no telling where the evil will stay. It may yet manifest itself in a wide spread cholera disaster. Oh! the wicked 'damn fool' legislature. Do they ever do any good?"³⁷ If Lincecum believed his own sarcastic remark that Affleck would be discouraged enough to give up his work for immigration and his other plans, he was badly mistaken.

There was much reason for Texans to believe that they would have self-government and would be allowed to settle their own problems after the approval by the President of the acts of the Eleventh Legislature.³⁸ A majority of the people in the state felt that the

³⁷ Lincecum to Buckley, September 25, 1866, in Lincecum Papers. Earlier, August 30, Lincecum had written to Buckley that: "In reference to Affleck you expressed in your letter to me, exactly the opinion entertained by all who are acquainted with him. He will next busy himself with iron works, rolling machines, rail cutters &c. &c.--He is a great man in his way. Society always required a little yeast to keep up a certain degree of fermentative action, but he won't do that; he possesses too small a quantity of saccharine matter for that use. I see however, that he has got the governor's ear, the message shows it in two or three places."

³⁸ The action of the Texas legislature on various subjects was

final stamp of approval had been placed upon the restored political system. Many problems, of course, remained. One was to rid themselves of the last vestige of military domination. The Freedmen's Bureau must be put in its proper place if it could not be eliminated³⁹ altogether, and the Federal troops must be sent to the borders,⁴⁰ where they would be of real service to the people. Another was the devising of ways and means of obtaining capital necessary for rebuilding and expanding the state's industries and commerce.⁴¹

While Affleck was in Austin, ominous signs indicated that there were reasons for worry besides those caused by legislative inactivity. Not the least of these was the increased efficiency of the Freedmen's

reported to the President by the Governor, and the former made the following reply dated October 30, 1866: "Governor Throckmorton: Your telegram of the 29th inst., just received. I have nothing further to suggest, than urging upon the Legislature to make all laws involving civil rights as complete as possible, so as to extend equal and exact justice to all persons, without regard to color, if it has not been done. We should not despair of the Republic. My faith is strong. My confidence is unlimited in the wisdom, prudence, virtue, intelligence, and magnanimity of the great mass of the people; and then their ultimate decision will be, uninfluenced by passion and prejudice, engendered by the recent Civil war, for the complete restoration of the Union by the admission of Loyal Representatives and Senators from all the States to the respective Houses of Congress of the United States. (Signed) Andrew Johnson." Annual Cyclopaedia, 1866-1867 (New York, 1867), 743.

³⁹ This observation is based on the fact that nowhere either in the newspapers, radical or conservative, or in manuscript collections was there any defense of the Bureau except from the point of view of keeping down or answering unjust criticism. See also, Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 139.

⁴⁰ A resolution was passed by the legislature asking that the troops be removed to frontier. Gamel (ed.), Laws of Texas, 1866, pp. 261-62.

⁴¹ Ibid., 264-65.

Bureau and a tendency on its part to take a more positive interest in the labor problems of the state. On July 23, 1866, General Kidder had given expression to the following views in his official report: "I have to report," he wrote in connection with the prospects for the crops in the state, "that there is a great scarcity of labor in the state, even in its present unorganized condition, when many owners of plantations have failed to cultivate them, notwithstanding, during the war, it was the recipient of vast numbers (thousands) of slaves who were run into this State from East of the Mississippi river, on the approach of our armies." At least seventy thousand able-bodied freemen could be disposed of as laborers on the cotton and sugar plantations if they were landed on the wharf at Galveston. There had been a great scarcity of summer labor during the cultivation of the present crops, the report continued; a fair estimate was that it would take at least one half as many more hands to gather in the crops than it had to cultivate them. Planters were offering one third and sometimes one half of their crops to anyone who would furnish hands and secure them, "on account of not being able to procure labor for that purpose, and the inevitable loss of their crops staring them in the face." He, therefore, recommended that some "system be inaugurated, or encouraged, under the immediate auspices of the Bureau," that would bring freedmen from other states where there was a surplus of labor, and where the freedmen who could not procure occupation were fed and clothed at government expense.

This recommendation was made the more "earnestly from the fact" that there was a strong effort being made in this state, "by certain disaffected parties, to inaugurate a system of white emigration from Europe, to be used as laborers, but with little encouragement, as you will see by the circulars and proceedings of the Convention, which I enclose, ever to become property holders. A convention has been held in Galveston, and I believe a society formed for the above named purpose. This whole movement is based on the presumption that negroes cannot be relied on for laborers, in a state of freedom, and they are destined to die out as a race."⁴²

Affleck noted the report with bitterness and asked the opinion of the people of the state on the fairness of the attack upon the immigration scheme: "Now, sirs, it is very well known that I have been one of the prime movers in this matter. If I gave expression, in the way of denial, to what I feel on the subject, both as to the disaffection of myself, and the other 'certain parties' concerned, I would say much that had best be unsaid. As to the fling at the future immigrants who may be encouraged to come to Texas, by the efforts of the company, I deem it unworthy of comment." Notwithstanding this criticism of his efforts, Affleck added

⁴² Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 26, 1866. See also, J. B. Kiddoo to Throckmorton, September 13, 1866; and J. C. Nassie to *id.*, September 15, 1866, in Governor's Letters, Texas State Archives, for defense of Kiddoo.

that Kiddoo, although obviously misguided in his views by "a pair of Black Republican goggles," should be continued in his work, for the General was a capable person. Richardson, editor of the News, however, could not excuse the remarks made about the people of the state and editorially criticized severely Kiddoo's report.⁴³

As a result probably of harsh criticism by the people and the press, Kiddoo seems to have tried to create a more favorable attitude toward his organization. In early October he issued an order commanding his subagents to do everything in their power to save the crops. They were to see that both Negroes and whites carried out their contracts. The News editor took "pleasure in calling attention to Circular 21 just issued by Gen. Kiddoo. Like the first ones issued by the same officer, it breathes the right spirit."⁴⁴ This more agreeable policy was rather generally followed by the Bureau, and the letters of protest no longer filled the columns of the press. In December the Bureau carried out plans for bringing in Negro laborers from other states. This project was looked upon with great favor by some people, was vigorously supported by the Houston Telegraph, and was given tacit approval by the Galveston

⁴³ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 26, 1866. See also letter from a correspondent in Robertson County who reported that it was the opinion of the people there that Kiddoo had probably been bought by the Radical party with money or promises of political preferment. Ibid. For further information concerning the Texas Bureau at this time see, Report of General Q. Q. Howard to the War Department, 1867, in House Executive Documents, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, 744-45; Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 126 ff.; Tyler, History of Bell County, 250 ff.

⁴⁴ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 5, 1866.

⁴⁵
News. That the plan was even attempted indicates that the people of the state were becoming more submissive to the proposals of the Bureau.⁴⁶ Affleck's position, meanwhile, prevented him from openly attacking the Bureau's counters efforts to supply laborers for the state.

Another factor of much significance to Affleck's plans was that by the late summer of 1866 Texans were becoming increasingly aware of sources of labor other than those which the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company proposed to tap. Also, it was becoming more evident that many laborers would come to Texas without the support of an expensive organization. Beginning in September there was an increasing number of reports of white people entering

⁴⁵ Houston Daily Telegraph, December 23, 1866.

⁴⁶ See Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 138-40. The Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 24, 1866, said editorially in answer to criticism of Negro emigration, that "Thousands of white immigrants might come into Texas from Europe at once, and still there would be great need of the negro." See also, Houston Daily Telegraph, November 28, 1866. The Houston Telegraph was at this time under the editorship of Reverend C. C. Gillespie, who severely criticized the Houston Journal and La Grange Democrat for attacking the importation of more Negroes. See Houston Daily Telegraph, November 29, 1866. The Crockett Sentinel in late November added its approval to the plans for bringing in Negroes. "There is the utmost want of labor in Texas, and the fear of future danger from the African population, or our native prejudice, should not blind us so as to make us forgetful of the destiny of our great State." If the great deficiency of labor could be supplied by the importation of "blacks," then "we say by all means, encourage them to come amongst us." Quoted in the Galveston Daily News, November 28, 1866.

47

Texas from the older southern states. By October, the Houston papers had become more interested in white and black labor from other states than in foreign immigration. ⁴⁸ From Navasota, whence had come the bitterest attack upon Affleck's immigration scheme, there now came another voice in opposition to the immigration plans. Thomas E. Blackshear wrote that he was sure that the Negro would never fill the laboring needs of the state so long as the Freedmen's Bureau existed, but neither did he have any confidence in the benefit to be derived from foreign immigration. Immigrants would only work out their contracts for a year or so and then would settle down on a plot of cheap land, thus adding to the problems of the state. They would do Texas no good politically or socially, or, for that matter, economically. "Then what are we to do? Go to work ourselves, and try to induce laboring men to come here from the old States." He had received numerous letters from his native state,

47 See for example Galveston News and Clarksville Standard for September and following. Also the New Orleans Picayune carried reports from various sections of the South showing that there was a large exodus from the older states to Texas.

48 "Ultimus" writing in the Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 12, 1866, remarked about the "impression made upon myself and many others by the series of articles and editorials from the Houston Journal on the subject of immigration, in which the encouragement of immigrants from the Southern States is chiefly recommended." See Houston Daily Telegraph, November 29, 1866. This paper had been for some time favoring white as well as Negro immigration from the other states.

Georgia, inquiring about the climate, soil, health, and resources of Texas. All that was required was to send copies of the Texas Almanac to Georgia, and all the applications they wanted would come in. It might be necessary, he added, to get the legislature to help move some of the poorer farmers to Texas because they had been harder hit by the war than others, but this would only be a small expense in comparison with other proposed plans for procuring laborers.⁴⁹

Reports from other states and from other sections of Texas showed that real significance should be attached to this movement of population from east to west. The Chattanooga Union in late September carried the following item: "Still another train of emigrants from this State to Texas, passed through here on Monday. It was composed of twelve wagons, and about twenty-five men, women and children....If Texas is receiving as many emigrants from other portions of the country as she is from East Tennessee, her vast prairies will soon be filled up."⁵⁰ On November 2 the LaGrange, Georgia, Reporter stated that "About thirty wagons, filled with men, women, children, etc. have passed through our city the past week, to seek their fortunes in Texas. Most of them hailed from

⁴⁹ Galveston Daily News, October 18, 1866.

⁵⁰ Chattanooga Union, quoted in Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 3, 1866.

51 Jasper County, in this state." It was reported from Memphis

that large numbers of emigrants bound for Texas were crossing
52 the river there to escape radicalism. Later in November the

Tyler, Texas, Reporter concluded that "If the emigrants that
are passing through here are an indication of the numbers that
are arriving within the State, then the arrivals may be set as
unprecedented. There is scarcely a day but that wagons may be
seen passing through our streets, conveying families westward."

53 And this paper added a hearty welcome to them. Gonzales and
Henderson County added a word of welcome to those immigrants ar-
riving in the state, and extended an invitation to others to come

54 to their section. And to show what could be done if any effort
was expended, Colonel T. M. Hammond of Grimes County reported through
the Galveston News that without difficulty he had hired 190 men, wo-
men, and children, 80 of whom were able-bodied men, from Pickens
District, South Carolina, and Franklin County, Georgia, to come to
Texas. Any number could be procured from the same sections by the
payment of their passage, which would be returned from the \$15 month-

55 ly wages.

51 La Grange Reporter, November 2, 1866, quoted in New Orleans Times,
November 7, 1866.

52 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 12, 1866.

53 Tyler Reporter, quoted in Galveston Daily News, December 29, 1866.

54 Gonzales Inquirer, quoted in Galveston Daily News, December 2, 1866.

55 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 30, 1866.

Thus it appeared that there were not only large numbers of whites emigrating from other sections of the South to Texas, but that the movement would continue to increase. The question of whether such people were desirable as settlers or whether they would be laborers or owners was left unsettled for the time.

Also, there was considerable immigration from foreign countries to Texas during the fall of 1866, without any noticeable assistance or encouragement on the part of Texans. Many of those who came, however, were Germans, who settled in the sections already largely filled by their own countrymen; hence they were not considered to be of any help in solving the labor problems. Although there was no connection shown in the newspapers, it is probable that this added to the feeling among many that immigrant labor would not prove a boon to the planter unless he wished to sell his land. The land speculators and others who held large blocks of land were pleased, but not so those planters who were interested in getting their plantations again in production. A Landholders Convention to be held in Houston on January 10, 1866, was called for the purpose of getting people to come into the state to purchase and settle on lands, thereby raising prices. This

⁵⁶ Ibid., September 12, 21, December 12, 1866; Galveston Daily News, November 27, 28, December 4, 5, 1866; Houston Daily Telegraph, December 30, 1866.

⁵⁷ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 18, 1866; Houston Daily Telegraph, December 13, 14, 1866. The convention was called for the object

meeting was not antagonistic to Affleck's stated purpose of getting laborers principally for plantations. It now seemed, however, that much emphasis was being placed on attracting landowners for vacant or unimproved lands, thus indicating that the labor problem was not so acute as it had been considered earlier.

The crops of the state were not so disappointing as had been predicted by some. Gathering was slow, but it was accomplished nevertheless. At the end of the year when the statistics for the crops could be compiled, it was found that the state had produced a fair amount of cotton and an excellent supply of foodstuffs. Thus there would be plenty to eat even if there were no money to spend on luxuries or speculations.⁵⁸

of making the "lands of the State, which constitute nearly all the wealth she has left, available in the markets of the world. The promotion of immigration, and the best modes of obtaining it, and of treating immigrants, with the best plans of giving them an interest in the soil, will be another interesting topic. The power of our lands to help in building of railroads will be still another." *Ibid.*, December 13, 1866. It was rather strange to find the *Galveston News* wholeheartedly supporting this organization while Affleck was laboring in the enterprise that had been so long supported by that paper. *Galveston Tri-Weekly News*, November 18, 1866. But obviously this was news that the people wished to know about, as earlier they had demanded more information concerning the Affleck movement.

⁵⁸ See *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year, 1867* (Washington, 1868), 78; *ibid.*, 1866, p. 57. The grain crop in Texas for 1866 was not surpassed in value until 1870. *Ibid.*, 1870-71, p. 30. There are no exact statistics on the Texas cotton crop for 1866, but the whole crop for the South was 1,162,000 bales, as compared with 2,580,000 in 1860, the best year. *Ibid.*, 1867. With the optimism so characteristic of farmers, most planters in Texas were beginning to see some hope in the situation economically; political trends indicated that they would have to make the best of their present situation. Interest in such far-reaching reforms as a change in the laboring class must be put off until more immediate problems of making a living and protecting

As Affleck journeyed to Europe on his second trip, circumstances appeared to make his chances of success doubtful. Many of the laws that he had hoped to get passed had not yet been adopted; some of them he realized would not get by the legislature. Even the bill granting the charter for the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company, which he had been assured would pass, had not been finally accepted when he left. The labor laws had met with favor because of their control over the Negro; there was little chance of reconsideration of the immigration commissioner bill.

There were many reasons why Affleck should have been pessimistic, although he appeared not to be. There were so many ways that his plans could materialize that he was not disconsolate. He still hoped to show the planters and businessmen of the state that he could solve their problems and yet not come into conflict with those in political power. So far he had been able to guide the propaganda for his enterprise between the extremes of keeping favor with those in the state who were bitter toward the Federal control, who were his principal source of support, and the Federal authorities, who could give him a great deal of trouble if not properly handled. Not the least important of his concerns had been and was to continue to be to discourage subserviency or sycophancy to the conquerors.

their homes could be assured. See Galveston Tri-Weekly News, December 6, 23, 1866; Tyler, History of Bell County, 255-56; Report of General Q. Q. Howard to the War Department, 1867, p. 745.

SECOND EUROPEAN TRIP

When Affleck left Austin on September 14, he carried with him a letter to European capitalists from the Governor. It stated that the chief executive of Texas would consider it a favor if Affleck would inquire among the businessmen in England concerning a loan to the state. At least a half-million dollars were needed, although a million could be profitably and safely used.¹ Under ordinary circumstances, this official commendation and show of confidence would be expected to open doors to many important business and financial offices in England. The repudiation of debts, however, was not the best introduction for a representative from the repudiating state.²

Affleck hastened home from Austin to make final preparations for his wife to accompany him to England. Orders to forward all the money that could be spared were given to Dunbar, and Affleck was off to Galveston.³ While in the Texas port city, he called upon the secretary of the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company and exhorted him to increase his efforts to get orders

1 The loan was to be guaranteed by the state lands, or by banks, or if this were not satisfactory, by the taxes of the state. Throckmorton to Affleck, September 14, 1866. No legislative sanction could be secured for the proposed loan. Affleck had been interested largely in the use of the credit of the state for aiding steamship lines, but Throckmorton was primarily concerned with the more immediate needs of the state government, such as border protection against the Indians.

2 Miller, *A Financial History of Texas*, 179-80; Gammel (ed.), *Laws of Texas*, 1866, pp. 264-65.

3 Affleck to Dunbar, November 26, 1866.

for immigrants and to stir the members of the executive council to greater activity. The money that had been collected for bringing in immigrants was turned over to the agent, and final expressions of good will were exchanged.⁴

It was difficult to get a boat at the time; so Affleck and his wife traveled overland to New Orleans,⁵ where he made arrangements to correspond with the Times. On the twenty-ninth of March he was again on his way to New York by the so-called southern route via Tennessee and Virginia.⁶

The trip north was a trying one, which, largely because of inefficient management and poor planning, took nine days. Affleck's letters to the Galveston News and the New Orleans Times while en route contain some of his reflections, particularly on the subject of internal improvements. The feeling that the continued backwardness of the South was due to lack of initiative and energy was most evident in his letters. The section must awaken from its lethargy if it were to overcome the great loss of time and resources occasioned by the war. The people of the South must learn to forget the past and take a clear and unbiased view of the situation. Credit could be procured only if it were shown that the southern states meant to act with diligence and energy. Rail-

⁴ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 6, 1866; New Orleans Times, November 7, 1866; Willard Richardson to Affleck, March 22, 1867.

⁵ This overland trip gave Affleck an opportunity to offer advice concerning the railroads that were being built. Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 8, 1866; New Orleans Times, November 7, 1866.

⁶ New Orleans Times, November 7, 8, 1866; Galveston Daily News, October 16, 1866.

road building, direct steamship lines, factories, and other enterprises so necessary for the prosperity of the South could not be obtained by individual efforts alone--group action was also necessary. Here progressive representatives must be found in the legislative halls if success were to be expected.⁷

The backwardness of Texas occupied Affleck's thoughts on the trip. "Our producers, be it of livestock, cotton, wheat, or what not; and our owners of lands," wrote Affleck in Bolivar, Tennessee, "if we may judge by the tardy and unwilling action of those who call themselves the representative parties, prefer letting the world jog along as it will, taking the chances as they turn up." His solution was direct steamship transportation of the state's livestock to Europe.⁸ "At this time," he wrote on October 8, "there is little difficulty in reaching the conclusion, and that correctly, the Northern States are overwhelmingly Radical and fanatically mad. The South may as well prepare herself for that fact. Submit as quietly as she may to whatever may be heaped upon her, devote every thought and energy to the repairing of the damage she has sustained, leaving politics to those people to carry on as they may and will. Let them alone to do what they will. They have the power and will to use it, irrespective of all future results. The time will come, if the South acts calmly and prudently, when she will be the great power on the continent. Texas, above all, should go

⁷ New Orleans Times, November 7, 8, 1866; Galveston Daily News, October 16, 1866.

⁸ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, October 8, 1866.

on, prudently but energetically, working out her own destiny. She has chosen herself, in our excellent Governor, a leader, whom her people will do well to listen to."⁹

After two days in New York, Affleck and his wife left for England aboard the City of Paris on October 6. Two weeks later they arrived in Liverpool after an unpleasant and at times very uncomfortable crossing. Affleck had used the time to stress to some of his fellow passengers the opportunities offered by the South. The reaction of representatives in English banking and manufacturing firms had been favorable. He had been told that if he could prove there was real ambition and drive in the South, funds and factories would be provided. One of the men was returning to his home in London convinced of the efficacy of building an iron industry in Alabama. Affleck reported that he had convinced another that Texas could support profitably numerous cotton mills.¹⁰

Almost directly on his arrival in England, Affleck found that he

⁹ Galveston Daily News, October 16, 1866. Affleck made especial reference to the recent burning of Bremen as an example of incidents that were to trouble the people of Texas and other southern states. This fire and riot on the night of September 7, caused by a clash between the townspeople and the soldiers stationed near-by, received a great deal of attention in the press of the state. See, for example, Galveston Tri-Weekly News, September 19, 1866; Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 127-28. Conflicting accounts were given by the Federal military authorities and a state legislative committee sent to Bremen to investigate. Of the affair Affleck stated: "Prudently as the people acted, ~~it~~ is made to appear through the North as an atrocious and unjustifiable attack on the 'National Troops,' who only saved themselves from destruction by fortifying themselves and showing the proper front! It has greatly helped the Radicals! But never mind, 'lies like chickens always come home to roost.'" Galveston Daily News, October 16, 1866.

¹⁰ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 9, 1866; New Orleans Times, November 8, 1866.

was faced with unforeseen problems. Those whom he met were much more cautious than he had anticipated, and weighed his propositions with greater care than earlier. There were explanations. Serious financial crises had been experienced in England since his former trip; also the facts that he came from a part of the United States that had not as yet been taken back into the Union, and from a state that had repudiated its debts were contributing factors.¹¹

The first letters that Affleck wrote to the newspapers in Texas after his arrival in England showed a strong feeling of disappointment because of the treatment he had been accorded by his state. He had been disgusted with the lack of co-operation by the people of Texas; he felt that the legislature had been particularly unwise in its actions. On October 23 he wrote that he had been gathering, studying, and transmitting information valuable to the sheep growers of Texas. "But, let me hint--and that in tolerably plain terms, to the people of Texas and their representatives--that to gain this sort of information in a shape to be of value of them [sic] and to the State, costs no trifle, I shall do what I can on this trip, but after this, somehow or other, these costs must be provided for, if I am to incur them; and means too, to do much of this writing, which I assure you is no joke, after a hard day's work. Could the wearied limb be stretched out, and the tired brains rested on a pillow, whilst all this is dictated to some

¹¹ Affleck to Galveston News, April 13, 1867.

one else, the relief would be great. And the amount of information accumulated and made public, would be more than quadrupled."¹²

Affleck in late October was able to report positive assurances that a steamship would sail on November 12, or 15, for Galveston with the first load of immigrants, and that another boat would follow two or three weeks later. The establishment of anything like a regular steamship line would depend upon the action of the state government "and infinitely more upon the support to be given by the merchants of Houston and Galveston."¹³ He had found Lafone still confident that he could proceed with the plans to send his ship, the Pacific, on the trip. It would be necessary only to await its return to raise the necessary capital to outfit it for the voyage.¹⁴

During the entire period of Affleck's sojourn in England, except when he was sick, he was traveling from one part of the island to another, writing, talking, presenting plans, and asking advice.¹⁵ In

¹² Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 16, 1866.

¹³ Id.

¹⁴ Affleck to Dunbar, December 8, 1866.

¹⁵ In early November Affleck began a series of letters to the editors of the most important Scotch and English papers. The first subjects treated were introductory to an anticipated campaign in support of his various enterprises. See Affleck to the editor of the London Times, November 1, 1866; id. to the editor of the Liverpool Post, November 1, 1866; Liverpool Journal, quoted in the Galveston Daily News, December 4, 1866. In one of the articles Affleck expressed the belief that the serious problems of both England and Texas could be solved by following his advice: "We have the beef and mutton but in our present well nigh ruined condition no means of sending it across the ocean. We need the aid of capital and shipping and could no doubt procure it through

most places. he met with the same reply: the time was unpropitious for speculative enterprises in the southern United States. The unsettled political conditions there and the financial crisis in England made money unavailable for venturesome investment in the South.¹⁶

Affleck kept in touch with Lafone regularly, and, although he doubtlessly knew of the precarious position of his associate, he continued to hope that the Englishman could make the necessary arrangements. Although Affleck at times found other investors who expressed interest in his propositions, Lafone was unwilling to step aside and say definitely that he could not pay his share of the expenses.¹⁷

An organization that Affleck and Lafone hoped to bring into their business had been formed to find new sources of meat supplies for producing Liebig's Extract. It was composed of a group of London

your system of limited Joint Stock Companies but we as a general thing know nothing of such combinations. The constitution of our State forbids banks or banking within our limits, our only currency, in the interior is gold and silver and our people look with suspicion upon the enterprises gotten up through financial agencies &c. A company composed of a few business men, and men willing to embark their capital in an enterprise which can so easily be proven to be a sure thing gotten up without any preferences and bonuses &c. would meet favor and would have a fair amount of Stock taken on the other side paid for in fat cattle and sheep at current market prices on the Ranches." Affleck to editor of the Times, November 1, 1866. See the Constitution of the State of Texas, Art. VII, Sec. XXX, which stated that "no corporate body shall hereafter be created, renewed, or extended with banking or discounting privileges." Ibid., Sec. VIII, stated in part that "In no case shall the Legislature have the power to issue Treasury Notes, or paper of any description, intended to circulate as money." Those provisions would certainly hinder the formation of companies, such as those formed in ante-bellum times and possessing banking and note issue privileges.

¹⁶ Affleck to his sons, November 6, 1866. The background for the financial crisis in England is clearly presented in Leland H. Jenks, The Migration of British Capital to 1875 (New York, 1927), 259-62.

¹⁷ Affleck to sons, November 26, 1866.

medical men under the leadership of C. Van Abbot, an importer of special dietetic foods for diabetics and undernourished persons.¹⁸ On November 18 Affleck presented to his prospective associates a long summary of his partnership with Lafone, together with a prospectus and proposals. He explained that only the unusual circumstances faced by the businessmen of England made it necessary for him to seek new capital. His sketch showed that Texas was an ideal source to draw upon for the supply of meat. Most of the preparatory work for a provision company had already been done. The two processes would work profitably in conjunction. The apparatus for the joint enterprise would cost but little more. The capital to be procured by the Van Abbot associates would only amount to \$25,000. Lafone would arrange for the line of steamers to Texas, and Affleck would manage the preserving works.¹⁹

The representative of the Abbot associates, Dr. Henry Lobb, reported favorably on the proposition, except in some particulars which were considered inconsequential. Certain of them would materially affect Affleck, but he could not afford to complain. He was to be under the supervision of a Texas board of directors, and the company would not buy but would rent the land where the company was to be located. This stipulation would make it difficult for Affleck to

¹⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, December 8, 1866; advertising pamphlet of C. Van Abbot, Importer, in Affleck Scrapbook.

¹⁹ Prospectus of the company in Affleck Papers. An interesting item in the costs to be borne by the company was that of the Morgan's Point land, which according to the statement of Affleck was to be \$25,000.

realize a profit on the sale of the land. Affleck was to receive \$3,000 in paid-up shares, but the extra two hundred shares that he desired were to be held subject to withdrawal by the board of directors if his work proved unsatisfactory. Lafone was also to be stripped of some of his power; he was to serve only as agent in England rather than as director and agent.²⁰

On December 8 Affleck reported that an agreement had been reached with the other parties and that the company was being formed. Only the work of making the proper arrangements for sending the apparatus and operatives to Texas remained to be done.²¹ "To complete all this will take time," he repeated. "If I go home there will be blunders. The machinery &c. is all nearly ready. The hands are all engaged. And we hope to send them out about the 10th January."²²

There seemed to be reason for enthusiasm on the part of Affleck. At last he had made arrangements to launch his current major enterprise. His agreement, with some restrictions, would give him opportunities to obtain large profits for himself outside of the company. There seemed to be no further reason for anxiety—with one major exception. All of the plans still depended on the ability of Lafone to furnish ships to carry the apparatus, operatives, and other immigrants

20 Henry Lobb to Affleck and Lafone, November 30, 1866.

21 As finally agreed, the company was to have sole management in Texas, Affleck was to be supervisor of the works, and Lafone was to be agent in England, except for the sale of Liebig's Extract, which was to be handled by Van Abbot. Affleck to sons, December 8, 1866.

22 Id. to id., December 8, 14, 1866.

to Texas—a prerequisite to the completion of the organization of the new company. Although Lafone continued to report to Affleck that there was no reason to worry, Affleck realized that there was going to be serious difficulty.²³

As a safeguard the Texan asked his friends James Spence and William Higgins if they would consider providing ships and capital and joining Affleck and Lafone and the Van Abbot associates. Although Spence was interested, he could not at the time (December 14) assume further obligations. At the request of Affleck, however, he was pleased to offer some suggestions for the company's consideration. Higgins was also unable at the time to participate in other enterprises as he was unwell and was extremely busy with the management of his personal affairs.²⁴

To add to his troubles, Affleck became ill in mid-December, and suffered intermittently during the rest of his stay in England, and thus was being unable to attend to his business properly. He wrote home that his funds were running low and appealed for whatever money the boys could spare.²⁵ Again on January 2 he wrote pessimistically about his health and financial condition and appealed once more for immediate aid. The letter indicated strong doubts by this time that he would

²³ At the time when the company was being formed, he wrote that the *Pacific*, the ship that Lafone had promised for the use of the company, had "been attached for some claim against Barned Bros., Bankers." Although it was released, there was no surety that it would not again be attached. The available evidence indicates that Lafone was continuing in business only on the sufferance of the liquidators of Barned Brothers, who had failed during the spring. Jenks, Migration of British Capital in 1875, p. 260.

²⁴ James Spence to Affleck, December 14, 1866.

²⁵ Affleck to sons, December 14, 1866.

achieve anything. A small remittance from Dunbar had come at a time when he "was positively in trouble," his resources having been reduced to \$10. He had been forced, he continued, "to write to Mr. Jas. Sorley to send me \$1,000., in case I do fail in what I am aiming at, but which I hope not to do." He was sending a bill of sale for ten mules in case the Yankees interfered with the sale of cotton, "Because, if I fail in my present operations to establish the Meat Preserving works, I must have money to get Ma home. If I succeed, I will not need it. But I dare not trust to the contingency." He was dissatisfied with Lafone's delays and doubted if the Englishman were going to be able to accomplish anything. Although Lafone still assured Affleck that he could do his part, "it don't come." Meanwhile, he was looking for others who might fill Lafone's place. Some expressed much interest, but "all enterprise seems dead here, owing to the collapse of last spring. And owing to the doubts as to the future of the South."²⁶

Lafone proved to be snatching at a straw in the hopes of staving off bankruptcy. By the middle of January he had had to assign his property to his creditors. Mrs. Affleck seemed more bitter than her husband at the turn of events. The difference in their attitudes at this time is shown by the following reactions. Affleck wrote that "I still think, & hope, that Mr. Lafone can go ahead with me in the Meat preserving on the bay. He is a good deal involved; but still encourages

²⁶ Id. to Dunbar, January 2, 1867. See also, id. to id., January 15, 1867.

me to believe he can go on. I would not wait for him if I could help it."²⁷ Mrs. Affleck thought that her husband had made a mistake in depending on Lafone; she had had little faith in him from the beginning. Other men had been interested in her husband's enterprises, she wrote, and "two months ago he could have effected his object. But then he was, or felt in honor bound to trust Mr. Lafone's repeated assurances that he would be able to carry out their plans &c. that he was doing all he could to adjust his affairs, for the attainment of that most desirable end;--and now, after this long and anxious time of waiting & disappointment, to learn from Mr. L. the other day, that after he had as he supposed arranged his own business, 'he had been obliged to make an assignment of all his possessions to the creditors & begin anew!'"²⁸

The problem of finding immigrants who were willing to go to Texas had not proved difficult, provided passage could be arranged. Affleck had publicized the attractions of his state during his first trip to England, and had continued this policy from the time of his arrival in 1866. Many Scotch and Englishmen were now awaiting to go to Texas. Affleck's agent in France, Alfred M. Noyes, had also found many French peasants ready to seek their fortunes in the South. Mrs. Affleck was correct when she wrote that hundreds of "good people" were "waiting and anxious to go."²⁹

²⁷ *Id.* to sons, January 15, 1867.

²⁸ Mrs. Affleck to *id.*, January 23, 1867.

²⁹ *Id.* to *id.*, February 5, 1867; "A late Liverpool paper," quoted in *Galveston Daily News*, November 25, 1866; *New York Times*, quoted in *Houston Daily Telegraph*, November 30, December 13, 1866; *Galveston*

Although other shipowners may have expressed interest in Affleck's
 30 immigration enterprise, as he reported, it appears that Lafone was the
 only one who ever seriously considered it unless guarantees of payment for
 the immigrant's passage on his arrival were made. This Affleck could not
 do. He was not only unable to guarantee the money on arrival of the ship,
 but he could not even show that he had any official status as a representa-
 tive of a responsible group. The company had never organized under the
 charter. Thus Affleck was the agent of a company that had no official
 status. He had received only one letter, from the secretary of the com-
 pany, which merely affirmed his appointment as agent. There was never
 any word that the necessary funds had been deposited to pay the passage
 of the immigrants or that the company would be responsible for such pay-
 ment if the laborers were delivered. Affleck could not show, either by
 newspaper clipping from his state or by letter, that there was any further
 31 interest in his work.

Daily News, December 4, 6, 1866; Dallas Herald, January 13, 1867; Flake's
Daily Galveston Bulletin, January 23, 1867; John Williams to Throckmorton,
 in Governors' Correspondence, Texas State Archives. In the Galveston Daily
News, December 4, 1866, the following item appeared: "A letter from London
 mentions the gratifying fact that a very large and constantly increasing
 emodus of farmers is going on, from England and Scotland to the Southern
 States of this country. Within a short time more than 6,000 emigrants,
 many of them well-to-do Scottish farmers, have embarked at Liverpool for
 Texas alone, that being the favorite state with the emigrants of the better
 class, who have an idea that Texas is less liable to disturbances than any
 other State of the South."

30 Affleck to sons, January 15, 1867; Mrs. Affleck to id., February 5, 1867.

31 On December 8, he had not even received word of the granting of the
 company's charter, and he had written Hughes, the secretary of the Texas
 Land, Labor and Immigration Company, that he was to advise the parties who
 had ordered hands not to rely upon his bringing them, unless he should manage

During Affleck's absence, there was no one with sufficient enthusiasm to stir up interest in his ideas in this period of increasing political turmoil at home;³² the whole scheme seems to have been neglected by these "influential business men" who had been listed as incorporators of the company.³³ The newspapers of the state no longer carried items about the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company, and only seldom mentioned Affleck. After his letters stopped coming to the papers, news of his enterprise disappeared from their columns except for an occasional query³⁴ as to his progress.

to get a few house servants and mechanics. "It is impossible for me to do otherwise." He had based his plans "upon the expectation of the Company's charter becoming law, giving it, the Company, thus legal existence. And had that been done in time, & I advised of it officially, I could have had the people go out." Affleck to sons, December 8, 1866. On January 23, when she knew that the charter had been granted but that the company had not been organized under it, Mrs. Affleck wrote that there had been excellent opportunities for carrying over immigrants. "But alas! what can any one do with their hands tied--It was a most shameful want of good faith & feeling on the part of the Co. not to at once have forwarded to your father all the authority they possessed--as a Chartered Company & thereby giving him that much official power to act--without which it is very difficult to induce ship owners to withdraw ships from a regular business & embark in a new enterprise merely on individual say or responsibility, thus you see the embarrassing position your father at this time occupies." Mrs. Affleck to id., January 23, 1867.

³² See Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 126 ff.; Elliott, Leatherstock, 157 ff.

³³ For the bitterness Affleck and his wife felt for this neglect, see, for example, Affleck to Dunbar, December 8, 1866; January 2, 15, 1867; Mrs. Affleck to sons, January 23, February 5, 1867.

³⁴ See Houston Daily Telegraph, December 13, 1866; Galveston Daily News, December 4, 1866. By the latter part of November there was no longer any news concerning the immigration schemes of Affleck although there were many notices of the general movement or the work of others. Affleck did not write for the papers as he had on the first journey, largely because of his illness and because he had nothing favorable to report. On January 2, he wrote that

It would have been most surprising at this period of financial uncertainty in England if capitalists had risked sending a ship to Galveston merely on an individual's promise that they would be paid on arrival. There were no laws on the Texas statute books that would hold a person³⁵ liable to pay the passage of immigrants. The whole tone of Affleck's reports seems to show further that he himself never seriously believed that any company would risk taking the immigrants merely on the chance of collecting passage money. Under any circumstances this would have been³⁶ of doubtful profit, unless the ships were guaranteed return cargoes.

Affleck by no means restricted his promotional endeavors to one or even two fields. At one time he reported that there was hope of establishing a company to build a woolen mill at Glenblythe. As this plan was

"It has, in fact, been impossible for me to do more than write the briefest answers to the most urgent letters." This had been caused by his "excessive occupations" and illness. Affleck to Dunbar, January 2, 1867. On January 15 he wrote to his sons that, "I have no heart to write for the press; so grievously am I disappointed at the non-action of the Legislature. They will never do me again."

³⁵ Affleck had tried to get a law passed by the legislature making it necessary for a contractor to pay the passage on delivery, but he had been unsuccessful. He did not worry about this point much as he did not foresee the difficulties that were to face him in getting the necessary passage for the immigrants. Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, February 5, 1867. In this letter Mrs. Affleck was showing that the blame for her husband's failure must be placed on others' shoulders. "The disappointment your Father felt in not receiving from the Legislature of Texas--authority to carry out those plans of immigration laid last winter & which many were waiting for--that is, the thing so made a law that shippers would be sure of receiving the passage money on the amount of the people at Galveston, where there is no such security from the State laws--no capitalist will run such a risk." This is the only evidence that he worked for such a law. If the Immigration Commissioner law had been passed, he would have had power to enforce such contracts.

³⁶ Affleck to sons, February 12, 1867.

projected shortly before he became ill, his ability to attend to the promotion was lessened.³⁷ Even as late as February 12, when he was principally worried about getting funds for his journey home, he still expressed hopes of raising enough capital to organize a provision company with other partners. At this time he explained that "Mr. Lafone's suspension in business rendering it more than doubtful if he could do anything of moment," and "I had already done so much toward it, that I could not bear to give it up; seeing a fortune in it." He had, therefore, come to Liverpool and had consulted as a last resort his "good friends" there. "And the result is, the proposition to form a new Company. For which a meeting is to be held tomorrow at 11½ o. c. My friends Messrs. Jas. Spence, & Wm. Higgins offer to take each £2,500. of stock which I look upon as going far to carrying the measure. If I am to succeed at all, it will be in a few days."³⁸ Nothing tangible materialized from this last effort to attract English capital.³⁹

³⁷ *Id.* to *id.*, January 15, 1867. "I have had several replies to an advert. I published," he wrote, "seeking a partner with Capital, in a Woollen Factory at the Mill; & correspondence going with two parties, with one of the other of whom, I hope to come to terms. These things cannot be effected in a day, in this cautious country. And especially in the South, with the state of feeling in the North." Later Mrs. Affleck wrote that "I think...he will succeed in establishing a manufacturing at our mill, he has letters from persons desirous to join him but for the present he cannot attend to business & must wait until he is able to see the parties. He has engaged to have made to take out a boiler for the Engine now at the mill--and thinks he will be able to establish such a business as will prove valuable to you of which he is anxious to have you secure a practical knowledge." Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, February 5, 1867.

³⁸ Affleck to sons, February 12, 1867. This sum was quite a reduction from the £25,000 that had been required two months before from the Abbot associates.

³⁹ Affleck had to write to his sons to do their best to get him some money

Affleck and his wife were to remain in England until March 25;⁴⁰ during most of the time after February 12 he was at Liverpool. They were anxious to return home immediately, but they had no money and were waiting for Dunbar to send the proceeds from the sale of cotton made on the plantation. Pleading letters were sent by both Affleck and his wife to their sons, but Dunbar had misunderstood their directions and had⁴¹ sent whatever money there was to New York.

While waiting in Liverpool, Affleck wrote a letter on March 2 to the Galveston News which was designed to prepare the way for his return home in the face of his failure with the immigration plans. When one had met with little but disappointments, he had not much heart for letter-writing, and Affleck must "confess to a great discouragement." He had hoped even until recently that the immigration company upon which he had expended so much time, labor, and money would not result in "another failure," and that within a reasonable time after granting of the charter, the company would be legally organized. More than three hundred persons

as quickly as possible. "Even if I succeed in what I am doing," he explained, "I should have money now. It would destroy all my chances to seem poor, at this particular juncture." Ibid.

⁴⁰ In order to save expenses he was staying with his cousins in Liverpool, and Mrs. Affleck remained at Dumfries with his uncle until March 2. Id. to id., February 25, 1867.

⁴¹ The whole crop had returned less than \$600, and of this amount most must have gone to meet expenses for running the plantation. It is probable that there was less than \$200 left for the Afflecks. Id. to id., March 5, 1867.

had been ready to go as soon as they could be taken, he reported. A great part of these could pay at least half of their passage, and all of them could pay something, "thus securing a superiour class of people." Caution had been taken, however, "not to commit myself positively or legally to them. But always reserved the contingency of the possible difficulties in my way." Yet, of course, they had been keenly disappointed when they were informed that the plans had not been successful. There was also great financial loss to Affleck. The success of the enterprise had depended entirely upon the desire of the people of Texas to encourage immigration "to such a degree, as to sustain me properly, not only in mere words and acts, though certainly in these, but pecuniarily as well. And, very naturally when they [the English shipowners] saw that nothing whatever had been done, they felt no inclination to trust to their [the Texans'] good faith and promises to pay the passage of emigrants, or any part thereof, on their arrival out." When he returned, he continued, he would personally see that all of those who had advanced money for workers would be reimbursed. But with all "Immigration matters, public affairs, &c.," Affleck stated, "I have done, unless under
42
circumstances very very different."

In concluding his letter, Affleck explained that the people of Texas by their lack of energy and foresight were losing great opportunities for

⁴² Ibid. to Galveston Daily News, April 3, 1867. Affleck was now convinced "that the opponents to all immigration movements, in the last legislature, really represented the bulk of the people." Ibid.

rebuilding their state on a more stable and prosperous basis than ever before. "Texas--to be frank with you--does not stand well in Europe. Her act of repudiation, no matter how brought about is ruinous to her. Then, there are other matters, which soon became known in every commercial community, which are doing fearful harm. It is known here that planters, who are largely indebted to their former factors, have passed them entirely by this season and last and have sent their cotton to others; even when all that the creditors asked for the present was that the cotton should pass through their hands; that they and not strangers should benefit by the commissions, etc. All these things are commented upon here." Virginia and Georgia as a result of their attitudes were "receiving assistance here that is denied to Texas. What is wanted is-- the assurance of absolute faith; not the possession of unlimited millions of acres of wild lands!"⁴³

Mrs. Affleck writing privately at the same time gave another reason for the failure of their plans. She explained to her sons that their father had been striving to get the meat preserving under way. "But the failures here in consequence of the last year's business, & money panic, has destroyed confidence in almost all enterprises--requiring money invested, especially foreign, & more especially for the U' States.--But your father has won the confidence of the first business men, of this country, & who did all they could to aid him, but the Co. failed at last,

⁴³ Ibid.

because the house who were large dealers in business & now expected to take the balance of the stock--& act as agents here--declined, when all thought it a success--because their losses in the North were so heavy last year! So it seems, the Yankees defeat us in every effort we make to live. The Lord deal with them as they have done with us."⁴⁴

While Affleck was busy and anxious about other matters that he considered of greater importance, one contract had been successfully closed that was to prove important in his future work. It appears to have been a happy accident that brought about the arrangement with a company at Manchester, England, whereby Affleck was to act as their agent in the United States. One of his purposes in going to England, Affleck had stated in numerous letters, was to learn about the best ways of raising and marketing sheep and wool. Immediately after his arrival in England, he had begun a study of the subject and had re-⁴⁵ported on marketing practices. Later he had found in England and in other sheep-raising countries that the most important problem facing the shepherd was the control of disease and insects that preyed on the animals. A means had been found in England that appeared to solve the most serious scourge, scab, as well as other harmful pests by the use of nonpoisonous dips, which were compounds or derivatives of carbolic acid.

⁴⁴ Mrs. Affleck to sons, March 2, 1867.

⁴⁵ Galveston Tri-Weekly News, November 16, 1866.

As a result of this knowledge he had called upon the patentees and manufacturers of these dips and other carbolic compounds, such as soaps, salves, and powders, and had completed an agreement whereby he would popularize their use in the United States, in return for which he was to have sole right of importation and control of sale.⁴⁶ Before Affleck left England, papers had been signed with the McDougall Brothers Company whereby he was to receive a 33 per cent reduction on the goods that he imported. They promised to take out a patent in the United States. Samples were given to their new agent, and a large supply of materials was to follow soon. The agreement was reached with the greatest mutual consideration and evidence of fairness.⁴⁷

Finally, after more than a month of waiting and worry, Affleck and his wife boarded the Great Eastern for New York on March 25. Affleck had to borrow money from William Higgins for passage, promising to repay him immediately on arrival in New York.⁴⁸ The Afflecks left England with a great feeling of despondence. The hopes that they had held so long for a business that would mean security for them and their sons seemed to evaporate as they neared the United States. They were returning

⁴⁶ Mrs. Affleck explained to her sons that "Your father will not return empty handed as to business, he is so fruitful in resources--that he put several irons in the fire and has closed the agreement with one which is a splendid paying business here,--& which in time will become so in the U. S." Mrs. Affleck to sons, March 2, 1867.

⁴⁷ McDougall Brothers to Affleck, February 22, 1867; Affleck to McDougall Brothers, February 24, 26, 1867; id. to sons, March 2, 1867; Mrs. Affleck to id., March 2, 1867.

⁴⁸ Affleck to Higgins, April 18, 1867.

home dreading the criticism which they thought would greet them, notwithstanding the fact that they had worked for what they had believed best for the state as well as for themselves.

49

Affleck anticipated that he would have a difficult time in getting from New York to Texas. He wrote Richardson of the Galveston News, asking for assistance on the grounds that he had been a loyal correspondent for this paper and that all had been equally interested in Affleck's endeavors. Richardson sent \$100, but added that he felt that he had done enough for Affleck's enterprise.

50

On board ship for the United States, Affleck found an opportunity for entering upon still another project--one that he had not considered

49 Mrs. Affleck to sons, March 2, 1867; Willard Richardson to Affleck, March 22, 1867.

50 Richardson to Affleck, March 22, 1867. Richardson wrote that he was sorry to learn of Affleck's misfortune, "but the truth is, I have never been sanguine of your success since the failure to get the proper legislation by our State. I however supposed you had much better means than I had of judging of the chances of success, and did not suppose you would risk seriously embarrassing yourself in the experiment." He explained further that Affleck's letters had been and would be acceptable but there had been "put out over \$400 on printing for the immigration scheme and related enterprises which now must be considered a dead loss." They felt that they had contributed more than their share, and so were really entitled to Affleck's correspondence. "However, as you say you will be out of money on your arrival in N. Y. we therefore send you a draft for \$100, hoping this may be sufficient, and feeling satisfied that you will be willing to do all that is right." Richardson expressed the hope that the next legislature would do for Affleck what the last had failed to do, for the editor believed that the day of the radicals was about over. "I shall be glad to meet you on your return, and hope your energy and enterprise will continue unabated in the cause of the country, notwithstanding your disappointment." Ibid.

seriously before. During the journey he had become acquainted with two young Englishmen, John and Thomas Mallor. The older of the two brothers had turned out to be quite a problem for the younger, as he insisted on drinking himself to death rather than spend the rest of his life in search of a career. Affleck and his wife took an interest in the two boys and soon were successful in getting the older boy to sober up. The brothers became attached to the Afflecks, and in the course of conversations explained their reasons for going to the United States. They were on their way to the Illinois country to begin life as shepherders; they were without any family except for an oldest brother, who had funds of theirs in trust. They expected to spend several years in learning the trade of sheep raising and then to send for their money to set themselves up in business. Affleck soon convinced them that they were going to the wrong place, that among the "sharpers" of Illinois they would not have a chance of realizing their ambition. On the other hand, if they would go to Texas, he would join them in raising sheep on his own lands; that is, if they could put up the necessary capital for outfitting the place with animals and with other necessary equipment. They readily agreed to investigate the opportunities in Texas, and when they parted company with the Afflecks in New York, they were preparing for the southern journey. While in Texas, they would be guests at Glenblythe. If they found the country satisfactory and the Affleck lands suitable for their purposes, they would send for their

capital, and the partnership would be formed.⁵¹

Upon his arrival in New York, Affleck wasted no time in getting the ears of persons who might be able to help him financially. Although the "Taskers" were largely responsible for his difficulties, Affleck was not adverse to the use of their capital. He immediately began to discuss propositions that would involve the expenditure of many thousands of dollars.⁵²

While making the rounds in New York he found time to call upon the firm of Morris and Cummings. He had made a tentative agreement with them by letter earlier in the year when he was encouraging dredging work for the entrances to Houston and Galveston. Now he wished to renew his claims to use their machinery in the South and to get them to enter into a partnership with him to do the work.⁵³ Affleck again explained the usefulness to which their machinery could be put in the South in dredging the harbors of Galveston and Mobile, and the Buffalo Bayou entrance to Houston, and hinted at the possibility of getting contracts for building the levees so greatly needed in Mississippi and Louisiana. Although it was impossible for him to purchase the machinery, he believed that he could make it worth their while to join him in getting the contracts for the work.⁵⁴ Morris

⁵¹ The proposition Affleck submitted to them was presented in a long letter explaining the ideal location of Glenblythe and Washington County. Affleck wrote that "I required \$2,500. to \$3,000 to be put in, that is only the neg of it against the neg of my land. But as you say you can provide only \$2,000. I will be content with that, you also giving your services." Affleck to Mellers, April 13, 1867.

⁵² *Id.* to William Higgins, April 18, 1867.

⁵³ *Id.* to Morris and Cummings, April 17, 1867.

⁵⁴ Affleck's proposal for using the machinery, April 16, 1867.

and Cummings were not interested at the time in doing more work, but appeared to be willing to enter an agreement whereby they would sell the patent rights and build the machinery for use in the South. Their interest lessened somewhat when they learned that Affleck wished to get the rights to the machinery without paying for it immediately, and that it might take him a year or so to complete his arrangements. Nevertheless, they reached an agreement whereby Affleck was to pay them \$10,000 for the patent right if payment were made within one year, and \$20,000 if he found it necessary to wait longer before the work was begun and the machines ordered. Under the arrangement, as Affleck worded it, he was to have sole right in the South to the patents held by Morris and Cummings. If he sold any machines or if he could sell the patent rights to others in the South, he would make a considerable ^{sum} "ec."

Affleck was to spend a great amount of effort and time trying to realize something from the dredging that he knew must be done some day in Texas and in other southern states if they were to advance commercially. Financial assistance must be secured. The first person he attempted to interest in the option he held was J. S. Thrasher of New York, a paper merchant, who had interests in Texas and who had been a previous resident of the state. Thrasher expressed interest, but at the time was not financially able to consider a proposition involving hundreds of thousands of

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; Affleck to Morris and Cummings, April 17, 26, May 2, 1867; *id.* to J. S. Thrasher, April 28, May 9, 1867. There was supposed to be an English capitalist anxious to join him in the work, and there were prospective partners in New York, Affleck reported, but they were waiting until he had made the necessary surveys in Texas before the capital would be forthcoming.

dollars.⁵⁶ Affleck was to continue his work for this improvement in the South, and from time to time he seemed to stir up considerable interest in his propositions among engineers and businessmen. Northern capitalists, however, do not seem to have taken this one of Affleck's promotional schemes as seriously as it deserved.⁵⁷

In New York Affleck also concerned himself with carbolic compounds. Almost immediately after his arrival, he mailed a long article to the agricultural editor of the *American Agriculturist*, discussing the value of McDougall's dip.⁵⁸ To McDougall Brothers he wrote shortly thereafter that carbolic acid soaps and the principle of the sheep dip had been patented in the United States.⁵⁹ He had been "moving briskly" in the matter of their preparations, he said, when he learned the "astounding information" that the patent was held by New York chemists and that they were making progress in presenting the products to the American public.⁶⁰ He doubted that the English firm would be able to prove the priority of its claims in this country. Even if the "Parties here had not got theirs in good faith," Affleck added, "a more than two years ago, I doubt if an alien would get a patent with the showing these Citizens make."⁶¹

Before Affleck left New York, a company had been organized assigning him a third interest in the manufacture of carbolic soaps and other

⁵⁶ *Id.* to *Thrasher*, April 29, May 9, 1867.

⁵⁷ See pp. 414-16.

⁵⁸ Affleck to Weld, April 14, 1867. The article was not published.

⁵⁹ *Id.* to McDougall Brothers, April 15, 1867.

⁶⁰ *Id.*; *id.* to *id.*, August 15, 1867.

⁶¹ *Id.* to *id.*, April 19, 1867.

compounds. Dr. E. J. Eames and C. A. Seely, the alleged patentees of the compounds, were the other partners in the company. Affleck had made a note for \$500 as his share of the expenses of launching the enterprise.⁶² He was to publicize the products and to have the agency for his state. The other partners were to see to the manufacture of the acid, and were to handle the sales in the North.⁶³

In the formation of the company there were considerations that cast serious doubts on the honesty of the chemists and, to a less extent, of Affleck. There was no patent granted for the soap compounds until more than a month after the formation of the company, and after Affleck had written that the patents had been granted over two years earlier. The patent for the dips was not granted until over a year later.⁶⁴ Either Affleck was duped, or he simply decided to enter the deal. It is difficult to explain Affleck's actions on the grounds of ignorance alone. In any case, McDougall Brothers was not treated fairly because information on their experiments, their advertising materials, and their samples was used by Affleck and his partners in their own affairs.⁶⁵

While in Liverpool, Affleck had been given commissions to collect debts for several businessmen in the United States. The most important

⁶² Letter Affleck to Seely and Eames, April 23, 1869.

⁶³ Affleck to Eames, April 22, 1867; *id.* to McDougall Brothers, May 21, 1867.

⁶⁴ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents, 1867* (Washington, 1868), 836; Agreement between Eames and Seely and James Buchan and Company for the manufacturing of carbolic soap, n. d. The first patent was granted on May 28, 1867.

⁶⁵ Affleck to Seely and Eames, April 22, 1867, *at seq.* The Affleck Papers are filled with letters to these men in connection with their affairs.

of these to Affleck was Lafone's. The indebtedness to Lafone had arisen out of his highly involved connections with the Confederate trade,⁶⁶ and he had promised Affleck that the returns from the debts would be used toward setting up a preserving plant. He furnished the Texan with a power of attorney and a history, quite incomplete, of his dealings with his debtors.⁶⁷

The principal debtors from whom Affleck was to collect were seven in number: Colonel Charles A. L. Lamar,⁶⁸ G. B. Lamar, Sr.,⁶⁹ former Governor

⁶⁶ Evidently Lafone, as shipping broker and factor, had had extensive business dealing with several persons prominent in furnishing the Confederacy, and especially individuals and organizations in Georgia, with supplies, both on government account and privately.

⁶⁷ Power of Attorney in Affleck Papers; Affleck to John Gay, June 22, 1867; *id.* to Lafone, April 5, 1867.

⁶⁸ Charles A. L. Lamar, on March 1, 1864, had been appointed by Brown as agent of the state of Georgia to take charge of exporting cotton and other products of the state and of importing supplies for the government's use on five ships chartered from the "Importing and Exporting Company of Georgia." Lamar seems to have been a member of the company, although it is not quite clear whether the company ever actually existed. Among the vessels was the Florrie, which was to play an important part in the claims of Lafone against Brown. Allen D. Candler (ed.), Confederate Records of the State of Georgia, 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1909-1910), IV, 65; Affleck to Lafone, May 10, 1867.

⁶⁹ G. B. Lamar, Sr., had been president of the Bank of the Republic of New York. He had remained in New York City after the outbreak of hostilities, and furnished the South with information and saw that arms ordered by Georgia were delivered. During the war he engaged in banking as the head of the Bank of Commerce of Savannah, and in blockade-running. He gained some notoriety during the conflict when an attempt on his part to bribe Bernardo Wood, former mayor of New York, to help in getting goods through the blockade was publicized in the newspapers both North and South. He vigorously defended his actions on the grounds of necessity for getting supplies into the South, but his later actions seem to indicate that the accusations of selfish interests were not wholly false. In order to save his property, he was one of the first to take the oath of allegiance after the fall of Atlanta. "After many disputes with Federal officers, however, over property which they claimed as 'captured and abandoned,' he was

70

71

Joseph E. Brown, L. G. Bowers, John E. Ward, and men by the name of

72

Haiman and Rosenberg. After Affleck had been dealing with the group

arrested by military authorities on charges of conspiring with his nephew, G. B. Lamar, Jr., and others, to appropriate government cotton and to bribe various military and civil officials....he retained Gen. Benjamin F. Butler to press his various claims against the government. Considerable sums have been recovered by his heirs and legatees." William H. Robinson, Jr., "George B. Lamar, Sr.," in Dictionary of American Biography, X, 549-50; Candler (ed.), Confederate Records of the State of Georgia, IV, 68, 82. Affleck wrote that Lamar was "negotiating the settlement of all the [cotton] claims--yours, the Co's and his own--through certain prominent officials; to whom he gives 3/8 of whatever is saved. And, of whatever amount is saved, you shall receive your share, to a certainty, he assures me....His professions & assurances are after the manner and tone of an honest man & gentleman--~~now ver-~~ ~~ring.~~" Affleck to Lafone, April 22, 1867. Lafone wrote later that "You must on no condition trust G. B. Lamar be thoroughly on your guard in dealing with him." Lafone to Affleck, June 8, 1867.

70 L. G. Bowers was a Columbus merchant, who appears to have been interested in the Exporting and Importing Company of Georgia. A payment was made to him from the state for "freight on inner charges." Candler (ed.), Confederate Records of the State of Georgia, IV, 65. It appears from the evidence in Affleck's letters that his principal indebtedness to Lafone was on personal account. See Affleck to Bowers, May 13, 18, June 4, 5, July 11, October 11, 1867; January 1, 1868.

71 John E. Ward had been minister to China under Buchanan, having been appointed in December, 1858. He left China in December, 1860, and before he could get home to Savannah via New York, the war had started, and he was held for a time as a southern agent. He was released at the command of Secretary Seward and was allowed to return to Georgia. Irving L. Thomson writes concerning him that "Bitterly disappointed at the secession of Georgia, he took no part in hostilities, and in January 1876 removed to New York City, where he engaged in the practice of law." Dictionary of American Biography, XIX, 426-27. Although no definite evidence has as yet been located to prove it, there seems to be no question that Ward served as confidant of Brown and was interested in the blockade-running of the Exporting and Importing Company of Georgia. Certainly he made a trip to England in 1864 as an agent for Brown. It may be that he was merely interested in getting supplies for Brown's use, and that he became indebted to Lafone for personal matters. In his discussion with Affleck, he was too familiar with all the ramifications of the business not to have been closely connected with it. Affleck to Lafone, April 15, 1867; *id.* to Ward, June 22, 1867; Official Records, Ser. II, Vol. II, 10, 93, 85, 180.

72 Rosenberg and Haiman are reported in the Official Records to have made contracts to furnish the Confederacy with large amounts of suits and shoes. Doubtless, they had used the services of Lafone in getting cotton out of the

for some time, he wrote to Lafone what seems to have been a rather true characterization. "The fact is, my friend, you seem to have literally dropped into the hands of an odd lot! There seems to be a fatality about the whole business, that would scare me, if I were scareable!"⁷³

Affleck tried by every means possible to collect the money that Lafone claimed to be due.⁷⁴ While in New York, he called on Ward and asked for payment. Ward informed Affleck that he did not owe anything to Lafone personally, but would pay the amount that the broker had sent to his wife.⁷⁵ Affleck learned that it was doubtful if anything could be secured from Brown, as the Georgia governor had made counterclaims against Lafone that would probably be accepted by a court.⁷⁶

On his way to Texas, Affleck called upon G. B. Lamar in Washington. He was informed that Lamar was trying to collect from the government and

Confederacy, as they had had to accept payment for their goods in cotton delivered at Wilmington. Official Records, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 590. The available evidence indicates that Rosenberg was a New York merchant and manufacturer, who had formed a partnership with Haiman to furnish the Confederacy with supplies. The manner of accomplishing this would have been extremely embarrassing if it had been known in the North. It appears also that Haiman was interested in the Exporting and Importing Company of Georgia. Ibid.; Affleck to Powers, May 13, June 5, 1867; id. to Lafone, June 6, October 10, 1867; Lafone to Affleck, August 10, 1867. Affleck concluded at a later time that "The Haimans are a couple of low, unprincipled, rascally Jews--& naught else!" He added that he had bullied the Haimans into admitting that they had shared in the "spoils" gained by Rosenberg. Affleck to Lafone, October 10, 1867.

73 Id. to id., June 6, 1867.

74 Id. to D. Browder, May 15, 1867; id. to Lafone, December 19, 1867.

75 Id. to Lafone, April 15, 1867.

76 Ibid.

that Lafone could expect a share of any collections. Thus, Lamar at least acknowledged the existence of a debt. From Washington, Affleck and his wife went home by way of Atlanta and Columbus.⁷⁷

In Atlanta he called upon former Governor Brown, and learned, as Ward had warned him, that Brown had presented claims to the government of the state, showing that Lafone had withheld large sums of money that belonged to Georgia. A show of astonishment had greeted Affleck when he had explained his object.⁷⁸ Lafone had claimed that in March, 1864, the Governor had bought one half of his ships for the purpose of importing goods into the state; that half of the returns from the cargoes were placed to the private credit of Brown; and that, when the ship Florrie was lost in late 1864, Brown was indebted to him for half the loss.⁷⁹ Brown, on the other hand, explained to Affleck, as he had done to the Reconstruction government of Georgia, that Lafone had received money belonging to the state and had refused to honor drafts on the sums. The alleged sale to Brown of the ships had in reality been a " bogus sale " made by Charles Lamar for the Exporting and Importing Company of Georgia, and had involved no actual transfer of property. This arrangement had been followed in order to circumvent the law of the Confederacy of February 6, 1864, requiring all privately owned, as distinguished from

⁷⁷ Id. to id., May 10, 1867. Mrs. Affleck had gone to Baltimore to visit with kinspeople while Affleck tried to arrange his business. When he went to Baltimore to get his wife, he tried to interest General Trench Tilghman, his wife's kinsman, in dredging projects.

⁷⁸ Id. to id., May 10, 12, 1867.

⁷⁹ Id. to id., April 15, May 10, 1867; id. to Brown, June 12, 1867; Lafone to Affleck, June 8, 1867.

state owned, boats from the South to take one half of their cargo capacity in Confederate cotton or other revenue-producing products.⁸⁰

Affleck apologized to Brown for the bother, and, as he explained to Lafone, "smoothed the whole over as well as I could." Whatever the merits of Brown's claims, no money was ever collected from him by Affleck.⁸¹

Affleck called on Bowers at Columbus and found that there was a

⁸⁰ See for the act and the provision putting it into effect on March 5, 1864, Official Records, Ser. III, Vol. III, 8, 183, 187-89. For the argument of Brown with the Confederate government concerning the ships that belonged to a stock company but were shipping state goods, see Brown to Davis, May 9, 1864, *ibid.*, 402; Christopher G. Memminger to Brown, May 10, 23, 1864, *ibid.*, 416, 442; Brown to Memminger, May 21, 1864, *ibid.*, 439; James A. Seddon to Davis, December 10, 1864, *ibid.*, 928. Brown explained that agreement to Affleck thus: "The Confed: Govt. would permit no cotton to go out, unless the ship carried one half of the Cargo for that Govt. But, if a state owned the ship, its claim to half cargo was withdrawn. Hence the sale of Chas. Lamar to the State of Ga. thro' Gov. Brown. Which Act of Sale was accomplished by a private agreement on the part of Lamar for the Co., rescinding the sale & agreeing to carry Cotton for the State, for one half of the Cargo. Certain account-sales were returned from your [Lafone's] office signed 'Robert', showing one half 'for ship' clearly recognising the transaction." Affleck to Lafone, May 10, 1867. Lafone, in rebuttal to this, stated that: "If she did not belong to the State, why did Governor Brown wish the proceedings of Cotton brought out by the 'Floride' [sic] put to his own individual credit? It is quite a mistake to say full statements of accounts have been rendered by the State. Those published are by no means full!" See for the statement of Brown to the state government in relation to the Lafone account, Candler (ed.), Confederate Records of the State of Georgia, IV, 64 ff. There seems to have been some evidence that, even if Brown had been completely honest in his handling of this particular account, he must have had some interest in the Georgia Exporting and Importing Company. Possibly there was some truth in the accusation of Russell Cobb that Brown had divided profits with "State officers engaged in speculation." Official Records, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 444. Louise Biles Hill, Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy (Chapel Hill, 1939), absolves Brown of any selfish interest in furnishing the state, but she did not study intensively this particular phase of his career.

⁸¹ The key person in the case, Charles Lamar, had been conveniently

chance of collecting something from him. Bowers admitted the debt, but was at the time financially embarrassed. He promised a payment as soon as he could get his affairs in order. Affleck also requested him to use his influence with Hainan, and to impress on him the urgency for payment. Bowers promised to do so, and Affleck left him with a very favorable impression.⁸²

Next Affleck used his efforts to get some goods which Lafone had shipped into New Orleans and which were being held for charges. Hunter Ashew and Company of New Orleans had in its warehouses a large shipment of assorted goods with charges on them amounting to over \$3,000 of which a part was owed to the government. Since the charges cumulated, speedy action was necessary.⁸³ Affleck sent urgent letters to the Lafone debtors explaining the situation and promising them consideration in the final settlement if they would pay something immediately. Bowers was principally relied upon, and he gave some hope of being

killed April 1, 1865, before the settling time had arrived, and it would have been difficult to prove the untruth of Brown's assertions without Lamar's testimony. The former Governor, in his explanation to the Reconstruction legislature, said that he was somewhat embarrassed by the lack of evidence from Lamar. Candler (ed.), Confederate Records of the State of Georgia, II, 66-67.

⁸² Affleck to Lafone, May 10, 1867. There is evidence to show that Bowers feared to be exposed for his relationship with the Confederate trade. He seems to have been of good standing in his community. Whether this surmise is true or not, he was the only one who ever paid Affleck anything. Id. to Bowers, January 1, 1868.

⁸³ Id. to Lafone, May 10, 21, 1867.

able to pay sooner than he had promised.⁸⁴ The cargo was of doubtful value, however, and Affleck, realizing that he was probably wasting his time, soon discontinued his efforts to get the shipment released.⁸⁵

From New Orleans, Affleck continued on home, arriving there May 8 or 9.⁸⁶ Almost all his plans had failed to materialize. He did not blame himself, as he had labored as "few men have." There would be some who would criticize, but he had met criticism before. He fully intended, if possible, to return at least a part of the initial fee paid for labors through him. It would be impossible to pay all, but others must assume some responsibility. And regardless of the difficulties that he faced, he was not beaten. Until he could no longer write or talk or think, there would be enterprises upon which he could expend his energies. The future always held hope for Affleck.

⁸⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, May 10, 30, June 6, 1867; *id.* to Bowers, May 13, 18, June 4, 5, 1867; *id.* to Hunter Askew and Company, June 6, 1867; *id.* to D. Morgan, May 28, 1867; *id.* to Ward, June 5, 1867.

⁸⁵ *Id.* to Morgan, May 28, 1867; *id.* to Hunter Askew and Company, June 6, 1867.

⁸⁶ *Id.* to Thrasher, May 9, 1867.

FINAL PROMOTIONS

When Affleck arrived in Texas in May, 1867, he began work to save what he could from the wreckage of the plans that he had pushed during the past two years. His financial condition was such that he had to snatch at every straw. He proposed to continue his attempts to set up a preserving plant or an establishment for furnishing foods for the markets, to try to realize something from the needs of the state for dredging and other internal improvements, and to work meanwhile to encourage the use of Cresylic acid. The last was particularly to occupy his attention during the remainder of his life.

During 1867 the Mellors played an important part in Affleck's plans for setting up a business. The two young Englishmen had preceded him to Texas and had been favorably impressed with the opportunities for sheep raising at Glenblythe.¹ When Affleck arrived, however, he had new proposals for their consideration. Their money, he suggested to them, could be better invested in a business on the coast of Texas where Affleck had determined to set up his preserving plant. If the plant could not be begun immediately, he proposed to establish a fishing and oystering establishment.

The Englishmen's money so utilized would allow Affleck to get control of sufficient lands to serve as a basis of credit for more extensive operations. John Gay, the preserver, who had contracted earlier with

¹ Affleck to Lafone, May 30, 1867.

Lafone and Affleck, had arrived in the United States and was anxious to get the business started. If only Lafone or someone else could arrange for the preserving apparatus, the initial work would be completed, Affleck's share of the organization provided, and production would begin at once.²

First the Mallors' money must be procured from England. As Affleck realized that there might be some difficulty in getting the Englishmen's money released by their brother, John Mallor, Lafone was let in on part of the proceedings. When the boys wrote home for their legacy, Lafone was to serve as reference and adviser to the brother at Liverpool, if he should be in doubt concerning the soundness of Affleck's proposals.³

On May 31, Affleck was becoming doubtful that the young Mallors had made their request to their brother sufficiently explicit and urgent. Therefore, he himself wrote a letter to John Mallor and also had the young brothers write again. Affleck arranged so that his own communication could be read by Lafone.⁴ In their letter the young Mallors explained

² *Id.* to H. F. Gillett, May 13, 1867; *id.* to Carroll Smith, May 16, 1867; *id.* to John Gay, May 18, 28, 1867; *id.* to Frances Morton and Company, May 23, 1867; *id.* to Lafone, May 30, 1867.

³ *Id.* to Lafone, May 30, 31, June 4, 1867. Affleck wrote that "There are two young Englishmen here, from Liverpool, looking out for a business. They profess to have £2,000 each. I proposed their joining my son in fishing, oystering, turtle &c. And they accept the offer. But---this money has not yet come to hand. When it does---& they wrote back for it from New York---I go down with them & show them the Cedar Point place....That gives me the location I want for fishing, preserving &c." *Id.* to *id.*, May 30, 1867.

⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, May 31, 1867. "I leave the letter to Mr. Jno. Mallor open, that you may read it---which long as it is, I beg of you to do so---then take it round to him & see him. You need not let him know you have read this

the great advantages to be derived from business association with Affleck. They expressed great enthusiasm for the project and added: "We will not risk the loss of our money. The land Mr. A. purchases will be deeded to us, until we are fully satisfied that our money is safe." They wished to know what kind of papers they must send so that their money would be
 5
 forthcoming.

All of the letters were forwarded to Lafone for delivery along with a note. "The two young men, Mellors, are still here," he pointed out. "They wrote to their brother to realize upon the investment he had for them to the amt. of \$1,000 for each. But he wrote them declining to do so--evidently looking upon me as some cute Yankee who had got hold of them to fleece them! I read his letter; & did not feel much inclined to bother any farther with them. But they are so anxious to join me in the long-planned fishing business, that I have agreed to wait until 1st. Augt. before finally giving them up....The enclosed [Mellors!]⁵ letter you can read or not. It is positive in demanding their money. But as they do not know the name, style, date &c. of the investment, they can send no Power of Attorney such as he may require if not inclined to encourage & assist them." Along with the correspondence, Affleck included a long list of fishing materials that Lafone was to procure with the money if
 6
 received.

letter; but you can let him read mine to you, if you think best. It is a simple statement of fact."

5 James Mellor to John Mellor, June 1, 1867; and F. S. to ibid. dated June 4, 1867. The letter is in Affleck's copy book.

6 Affleck to Lafone, June 4, 1867.

While Affleck was waiting for the money and apparatus to arrive, he was busy making arrangements to procure a desirable site for the establishment. He wrote letters of inquiry to H. F. Gillett, administrator of some property on Morgan's Point, and to the agent of Mrs. Houston to see if certain of their lands were for sale. He did not receive an encouraging reply from the latter owner, but continued his correspondence with Gillett.⁷ Gillett was interested in the propositions and arrived at terms with Affleck after some negotiations. Affleck agreed to pay \$15,000 in deferred payments for 1,600 acres of land.⁸ Also there was to be 130 acres deeded to him without cost. The sale was contingent on the establishment of the business on this property, as this development would increase the value of the adjoining lands, which were also to be sold by Affleck at a commission.⁹

The necessary property was thus in the hands of Affleck, but the vital problem of raising the required money still remained. Growing more doubtful with time that the Englishmen would get their legacy, Affleck decided to expend every effort to collect from Bowers and others in Lafone's debt.¹⁰ On July 11 Affleck wrote Bowers that he would come

⁷ *Id.* to Gillett, May 13, 1867. *Id.* to Carroll Smith, agent for Mrs. Houston, May 16, 1867. A similar agreement had been offered to Mrs. Houston in 1866 as well as at this time.

⁸ *Id.* to Gillett, June 20, 1867. See also, *id.* to C. J. Forshey, June 21, 1867; *id.* to Gay, June 22, 1867.

⁹ *Id.* to Gillett, June 21, 22, 1867.

¹⁰ *Id.* to Lafone, June 27, 1867; *id.* to Gay, August 20, 1867. See also, *id.* to *id.*, June 22, 1867; *id.* to wife, October 11, 13, 23, November 4, 8, 1867.

through Columbus on his way to New York and would expect him to have
¹¹
 \$1,000 ready for payment on account of Lafone's debts.

There were several additional reasons at this time for Affleck to go North. The business of the Cresylic Acid Company was not moving to suit him, and he wished to try again to raise capital for his proposed dredging company. Also, he wished to clear up questions involving an interest he had in the Morgan Process patent for preservation of meat by infiltration, a patent which showed at this time some possibility
¹²
 of becoming valuable.

Before leaving for the North about the middle of August, Affleck
¹³
 tried to draw a draft against Ward in New York for \$700. When this draft was not honored, Affleck procured sufficient funds from other sources to take him to Columbus, Georgia, where Bowers had promised to make a payment on his indebtedness. There Affleck received from the merchant \$1,000, which provided means for transportation to New York,

11 *Id.* to Bowers, July 11, 1867; *id.* to Lafone, December 19, 1867. Affleck told each of the persons with whom he was connected that his particular business had required attention. This was to be an important point when he tried to collect for his expenses from the Cresylic Acid Company; he had also charged the expenses to Lafone's account. See *id.* to Seely and Eames, September 21, 1868.

12 *Id.* to Mr. Turner, May 18, 1867; *id.* to Charles Congreve, July 11, 1867; *id.* to Adrian S. Clark, July 11, 1867; *Galveston Daily News*, May 30, July 10, 1867. See also, *id.* to Bowers, July 11, October 11, 1867; *id.* to Congreve, July 11, August 27, 1867; *id.* to Adrian S. Clark, July 11, 1867; *id.* to W. T. Clark, August 24, 1867; *id.* to Lafone, August 10, 1867.

13 *Id.* to W. T. Clark, Cashier of National Bank, Galveston, July 11, 1867.

and, as he explained to Lafone, for other "necessary purposes." ¹⁴ Gay, who felt that he could arrange in England for the preserving plant apparatus, ¹⁵ was given passage money after his arrival in New York.

Affleck then began attending to other business affairs, while awaiting word from across the ocean that some satisfactory arrangement had been made for the preserving plant. Among other things, he checked on the ¹⁶ manufacture of Cresylic acid, the dredging company, and the Morgan's

14 Id. to Lafone, October 10, 1867.

15 Ibid. Gay seems to have believed that he could arrange for sending out the apparatus even if Lafone should fail. At least he and Affleck had entered an agreement for a company before he left that would not have included Lafone unless the broker were able to furnish a large amount of money. Id. to Gay, August 20, 1867.

16 Affleck had tried diligently to get the necessary financial backing to bid on the contracts for opening a wider and deeper channel from the Gulf to Houston. He believed that the company keeping the existent channel free from obstructions did not use as efficient machinery as that of Morris and Cummings, control of the patent of which he held for Texas. Therefore, he had made several trips to Houston and had corresponded with various people, hoping to get either a contract for the work or to sell the patents that he held. New Orleans Picayune, January 10, 1867. Affleck to Morris and Cummings, May 15, June 4, 8, 21, July 10, 1867; id. to T. W. House, May 23, 1867; id. to John S. Thrasher, May 27, June 4, 21, 1867.

For a time Affleck wrote as if there were real possibilities of getting contracts not only in Texas but in Louisiana and in Alabama as well. He depended largely on others to find the necessary financial backing for his project, but his plans were so indefinite that he had little success. Affleck to B. Bloomfield, May 15, 1867; id. to J. S. Thrasher, May 27, June 4, 21, 1867. Thrasher seems to have lost his interest in the promotion when there appeared to be a possibility that Houston alone would be helped by the dredging. At this time Thrasher was a successful paper merchant in New York, but he had been closely connected with the interests of Galveston. Dallas Herald, May 18, 1867.

Lack of interest on the part of Morris and Cummings at the time that meetings were being held for the purpose of letting contracts and settling upon the type of machinery to be used appear to have made it impossible for Affleck to do much. Each time he was present, but his connection with Morris and Cummings was so indefinite that he could not expect to be considered seriously. He did receive a model of the Morris and Cummings machine, and

patent. He did not receive encouraging information concerning any of his plans except in regard to Cresylic. The Cresylic Acid Company, he found, showed promise of becoming an exceedingly profitable business.¹⁷

Probably encouraged by the collection from Bowers, Affleck wrote Lafone on October 11 offering a new proposition of equal partnership with Affleck, Dunbar, and Gay. Lafone would be required to contribute £3,000 to the partnership. Dunbar and Gay were to give their full time to the plant, and Affleck was to give his full time during the preserving season. Affleck would receive without cost forty acres of land, which would be purchased by the company. This land would serve as payment for his publicity work. Lafone was to act as general agent in England, and Affleck would hold a similar position in the United States.¹⁸

Shortly before Affleck left New York a letter arrived from Gay which stated that the young Mallors would be unable to get their money. Lafone was at work doing all he could to get his affairs in shape, but Gay doubted that he would be successful. Thus, Affleck informed his wife, ended his last chance of putting up his long-sought-for plant. But he was not downhearted, for the news had not been unexpected.¹⁹ He added that he hoped

attempted to sell the patent for \$25,000, but he was not successful. Affleck to T. W. House, May 23, 1867; *id.* to J. S. Thrasher, June 21, 1867; *id.* to Morris and Cummings, July 10, August 30, 1867; *id.* to wife, November 7, 1867.

¹⁷ *Id.* to wife, October 13, 1867, at *seq.*

¹⁸ *Id.* to Lafone, October 11, 1867.

¹⁹ *Id.* to wife, November 8, 1867. Gay had written that James Mellor, who had returned to England to get the money, had made no objections against his brother's refusal to let him have the money. The lawyers had found that Affleck had paid only the equivalent of £700 for his property at Glenblythe,

to receive about \$3,000 as a payment from Bowers, but even this amount would not encourage him to more "waiting & doubt."

At about the same time Affleck received a letter from Lafone in which the last partnership proposals were severely criticized. Affleck replied to this letter, saying that "these conditions, including management of the business outside of the works &c. &c. are those upon which alone I am willing to go in. And they are the only fair & common-sense conditions on which we could operate together." Lafone wrote in early December that he was being victimized. In his reply the Texan expressed great indignation. "The entire tenor and tone" of the letter were insulting. Nothing that Affleck had ever done, he said, could have warranted "anything approaching it." It had been nearly two years, Affleck wrote, that Lafone had kept "Mr. Gay and myself in tow, under engagements, contracts, professions and promises, none of which have been kept. I was all along under the belief that you were trying to do what you promised us. But this last letter unless fully explained and apologized for, would lead to different conclusions." Affleck went on to say that all the money received from Bowers, amounting to \$1,000 in coin and \$100 in currency, would be accounted for. There was no truth in Lafone's allegation that he, Affleck, was trying to profiteer on the Morgan's Point property. The Texan considered his services worth much more than Lafone's; he would not

and thus could not offer proper security for the money to be borrowed; the increased value of the property had not been considered. Id. to id., October 23, 1867. After learning that there was no further chance of getting anything from the Mellors, Affleck wrote his wife to "tell Thos. Mellor that if we do go into it, it will be on too small a scale to employ others than ourselves. And that moreover his brother's distrust of me, would make it not desirable that they should be with me." Id. to id., November 8, 1867.

consider coming into the company with a mere one-fourth interest. Lafone's proposal to provide as a maximum only \$1,000 in machinery and other equipment would indeed be unfair.

In an explanation of the incident to Gay, Affleck inclosed a copy of the Lafone letter and of his reply. The Gay letter includes two paragraphs that indicate Affleck's wish to have the friendship of Gay continue. Affleck complained that the letter from Lafone could not be considered anything but a "gross insult, as I view it, from beginning to end. I would have borne a great deal to put the business under way, for your sake infinitely more than mine. And deeply regret that all my efforts have been thus far in vain. Mr. Lafone has been a dead drag on the enterprise. I was so warned, again & again, in Liverpool; but could not bring myself to believe that he was untrue to us. What else am I now to believe?" Affleck showed what he considered the unfairness of Lafone's accusation of selfish purpose and the absurdness of the Englishman's counterpropositions: that Affleck be made subject to the check of the chief tinsman, and that Dunbar be given no share. "You know," he continued, "that I never dreamt of any underhanded thing connected with the business. You saw a little of what I had repeatedly gone through, in exposure, correspondence, talking, time & expense, to secure the control of...[the land]...Why should I be expected to surrender these advantages

20 Id. to Lafone, November 16, 1867. Obviously Lafone had complained of Affleck's control of the plant in the United States, and also of bringing Dunbar in as an equal partner. The Texan's tone had changed remarkably since he had learned that there were slim chances of getting the plant under way, and since he had learned that the Cresylic company was successful. Id. to id., December 9, 20, 1867.

to one who has treated me as Mr. Lafone has, & for less than nothing? For I am first to pay for the property, one third of the cost, before I am to be condescendingly allowed a one fourth interest?" He explained that Lafone's threat to go into business with Bowers would suit him all right if Gay would be taken care of. But Affleck added that he hoped that he and Gay would be able at a later date to continue with their plans in "a small way."²¹

Affleck would have been willing for the matter to be smoothed over with these last two letters to Lafone and Gay, but he had misjudged the latter. Instead of accepting Affleck's explanations at their face value and also defending him to Lafone and other people in England, Gay had become critical. He had shown his letter from Affleck to Lafone, and the factor in return had opened up some of his earlier correspondence in which Affleck had shown himself to be less considerate of Gay's future. As a result of this, Lafone had written another "insulting" letter, and Gay, the "little puppy," had joined him in an "impertinent" note.²²

In this last letter to Lafone, Affleck showed that there was much justice in his accusations of bad faith on the part of the Englishman. He also showed that he did not consider or had forgotten many of his earlier letters written with the purpose of securing advantages that would not have included Lafone. He traced the history of his relations with Lafone from the beginning of his first trip to England. In all of his activities he had been led on by Lafone, immigration had been secondary in his plans and was pushed only to make certain that Lafone would

²¹ Id. to Gay, December 20, 1867.

²² Id. to Lafone, January 1, 1868.

have loadings for his ships. "I would not reply to your last," Affleck wrote, "were it not that some statements are made which have neither truth nor foundation to sustain them. In fact, your manner of referring to them, in this & a previous letter, proves that your own conscience twinges you. You cannot but feel, that you have not only ruined the prospects of an excellent business I had labored for; but instead of coming out manfully & abandoning it & me; you try to back out by forcing me to reject as I do & did with contempt, terms you know I would have been a fool to entertain at all. These are the facts as you well know." Affleck continued, showing that he had been more than fair in all of his business affairs, keeping Lafone's interests always in mind. "In every movement, you were included. In every prospective advantage, you were made a full & equal share." Lafone's late action was not only disheartening in the extreme but was an insult he would not tolerate. "Mister Gay too, presumes to write to me in a tone most impertinent, since his return. He makes one remark for which he may yet give me a chance to make him answerable. He must indeed be a knowing fellow! Because he actually quotes verbatim from my letter to you. Marked 'strictly private & confidential', written weeks before the date at which you handed it to him. There was nothing in it, nor in anything that I wrote, that I cared for his seeing. Or to him that I care for you seeing."²³ Before concluding Affleck

²³ Id. to id., May 2, 1868. Affleck said that either he or his son would make Gay answerable for some of the things that he had said should they ever be given the opportunity.

stated that there was still some chance of collecting the indebtedness due Lafone in the United States, but complained because the Englishman had taken some of the proceedings out of his hands without notice. Thus ended the plans insofar as the partnership of Affleck and Lafone was concerned. There do not appear to have been any further collections on the Lafone debts, nor does there appear to have been any settlement concerning the money that Affleck had already gotten from Bowers.²⁴

Affleck's work in introducing Cresylic acid or creosotes to the people of the United States was to be his main interest after June,

24 Affleck's last letter to Bowers in January, 1868, included a strange proposal. He was completely disgusted with Lafone. "Now, for yourself I learnt to feel, as far as our knowledge of each other went, a warm friendship. I wrote of you & your position to Lafone cautiously. Yet I said what might harm you, if not provided against--that your standing was excellent; that, like every one else in the South, however, it was of no use pressing you at present; if left to yourself, you were certain to pay up. And, although evidently unwilling to enter into positive stipulations to pay at stated times, yet and here is the point, which may have done you wrong in the hands of so unscrupulous a man as Lafone has shown himself to be in his last letters.--You did not wish your indebtedness to him to be known in Columbus, & was sure, that rather than have that done, which would injure probably, you would make every possible effort to pay.

"I fear he may take advantage of this. And would earnestly advise you, to send me at once by mail, your own notes, payable at such dates as you could compass--any time in reason--& with them a receipt for me to sign, & so guard against an immediate suit & consequent harrassment and annoyance. You must judge for yourself. I think that in making this proposition to you, I am serving Lafone's interests, as his attorney. Because, I have confidence that you will have such dates as you can meet, Providence permitting. And that under all circumstances is the most that should be asked of you.

"He might make use of this against me; therefore it might be as well he knew nothing about it, & that the notes & receipt were dated a week or so two after I left Columbus. Although I really care little about it, I don't think he will venture to break all of no. If he does he

1867. With enthusiasm, he set out to introduce this useful product to the agricultural population. He convinced Buchan and Company in the fall of 1867 that the proper medium for reaching the farmer was through the agricultural periodicals and the newspapers that circulated widely in the rural sections. Cresylic would be more favorably presented to the rural reader if publishers and editors of the mediums could be convinced of the usefulness of the products, and particularly if they had a pecuniary interest in the sales. To reach those ends, the publishers and editors were to be given agencies for the product, and were to be promised advertising according to the sales of the product. Before Affleck left New York, advertisement amounting to \$1,100 was contracted to appear in the American Agriculturist, the most widely distributed agricultural magazine. And Buchan promised that other contracts would follow.

Affleck saw opportunities to profit in several ways from his connection with the advertisement of Cresylic. Probably on the strength of the advertisement, he quietly managed to get \$100 for some articles from the American Agriculturist. He anticipated other demands, and

shall answer for it....The contemptible fellow....Think of what I advise you & act upon it. For I mistrust him towards you....Were the Hainan's properties properly deeded - offered for sale? And with what results." Id. to Bowers, January 1, 1868.

25 Id. to wife, October 27, 1867. The Agriculturist at this time claimed a circulation of 175,000. Ibid.

26 Id. to Orange Judd and Company, November 16, 1867. It is not

particularly from papers and journals in which Buchan expected to advertise. Such writings in turn would increase the sales of the Cresylic compounds, thereby making for greater royalties. Useful products could be procured in return for the favors he had in his power to grant; many editors sold cattle, seeds, implements, etc., which Affleck needed. Again, Affleck's renewed contracts with manufacturers and merchants could be used to advantage in many ways. Finally, if he were successful in issuing his Almanac again, he would find it easy to get advertisement.²⁷

In evaluating Affleck's success in advertising Cresylic acid, account must be taken of his articles, which appeared in the most influential agricultural magazines in the United States. During 1868 the following periodicals carried some type of writing from his pen: American Agriculturist; Cultivator and Country Gentleman; Trif., Field and Farm; Ohio Farmer; Gardeners' Monthly; Southern Planter and Farmer; and American Farmer.²⁸ Correspondence was also carried

clear whether Affleck received this payment because he had arranged for the magazine to get the advertisement or because of the article. Since 10 per cent was the usual commission for getting advertisements for the agricultural magazines, it is possible that the payment was in the form of a commission. But the articles were published. See id. to id., January 26, 1867.

²⁷ See for example, n. 29, below, for letters to editors and publishers in which indications are quite clear that Affleck was using his influence in the above-stated ways. See especially id. to Mr. H. A. Swasey, June 11, 1868; id. to Buchan and Company, June 11, 1868; id. to Hymer, Norton and Company, July 20, 1868, for examples of letters showing how he tried to profit from agreements with agents and merchants.

²⁸ Cultivator and Country Gentleman, XXI (1868), 242, 262; XXIII (1868),

on extensively with several other magazines in an attempt to interest them in the uses of Cresylic. Among these were the Rural New Yorker, Prairie Farmer, Practical Farmer, Maryland Farmer, Gosport Journal, Southern Ruralist, Southern Cultivator, and the Southern Farmer.²⁹

In some instances advertisements were placed in the magazines which did not carry articles from Affleck.³⁰ The recipients of the advertisements were often made to understand that they were expected to return favors.³¹

In some cases Affleck's demands were considered to be unreasonable by editors, and they reacted accordingly. In other cases his lack of success was caused by the fact that Buchan and Company were not always willing to follow his advice concerning advertisement.³² There

33, 123, 240, 280, 407; Turf, Field and Farm, VI (1868), 409, 417, 425, 514; Ohio Farmer, XVII (1868), 514; Gardeners' Monthly, I (1868), 11, 140, 267; Southern Planter and Farmer, N. S., II (1868), 469-71, 499, 535-40, 605-608; American Agriculturist, XXVI (1867), 443; XXVII (1868), 92, 128; American Farmer, Ser. V, Vol. II (1868), 310.

²⁹ Volumes of these magazines were consulted, but there were no articles by Affleck. See also, Affleck to N. P. Boyer and Company, December 19, 1867; id. to James Buchan and Company, January 26, February 28, March 17, April 27, May 22, June 4, 11, 13; July 25, 1868; id. to W. M. and M. L. Jones, February 15, 1868; id. to Dr. N. B. Cloud, February 15, 1868; id. to M. W. Philips, April 26, 1868; id. to Dr. H. A. Swasey, June 11, 1868; id. to Blyner, Norton and Company, July 20, 1868; id. to Luther Tucker, December 2, 1868.

³⁰ Id. to James Buchan and Company, May 22, 1868; id. to Luther Tucker and Sons, August 3, December 2, 1868.

³¹ Id. to N. J. Boyer and Company, December 19, 1867. See also, id. to D. D. T. Moore, April 25, 1868; id. to Dr. H. A. Swasey, June 11, 1868; id. to W. M. and M. L. Jones, June 13, 1868; id. to William L. Hill, June 26, 1868; id. to Blyner, Norton and Company, July 20, 1868.

³² For example see, id. to Buchan and Company, May 22, 1868. There was

were instances in which Affleck may have ruined his chances for better co-operation because of his anti-Radical expressions.³³ However, Affleck was able, albeit in a small way, to profit from his writings. The success of his campaign for Cresylic is shown in the number of agencies held by the publishers or editors of the agricultural magazines. The American Agriculturist, Rural New Yorker, Maryland Farmer, Practical Farmer, and probably others received direct profits from its sale.³⁴ Only when these men thought an article was useful and salable were they usually willing to stock it in their warehouses and sell the product.

The subject matter of the writings for agricultural magazines during 1867-1868 is of only passing significance. Occasionally a discussion of southern Reconstruction problems appeared. Certain of the articles were merely copies of earlier writings by Affleck.³⁵

complaint in almost every letter from Affleck concerning their niggardliness in advertising. This was hardly just, for they were spending a large sum of money in the campaign.

33 In writing to Dr. H. B. Cloud, editor of the Southern Cultivator, February 15, 1868, Affleck passed on a rumor that he had heard: "In passing through Ga. I was told that 'Dr. Cloud had gone over to the Radicals, and was hanging around the Convention &c.'! But, I did not believe it." Since the rumor appears to have had its basis in fact, this explains at least in part why Affleck failed to get any articles concerning Cresylic in the magazine. See also, id. to Editors of American Agriculturist, February 8, 1868; id. to Dr. H. A. Swasey, June 11, 1868.

34 Affleck to Sampson and Terry, June 16, 1868.

35 For example, Affleck's article, "Bermuda Grass," printed in the Cultivator and Country Gentleman, XXXII (1868), 123 ff.

The following examples are only a few of the subjects that he discussed: "Cherokee Rose," "Nyce's Fruit House," "Foot Rot," "Conditions in Texas," "Horse Dealing in Texas," "Sorgho in the South--Farm Implements--Expositions--Things Wanted--Crops, Etc.," "Cresylic [sic] Acid for Insects," and "Notes from Texas."³⁶ Whatever the subject matter, it usually offered an opportunity for favorable reference to Cresylic.

Affleck's writings in the magazines of the country undoubtedly increased his influence with the newspapers of his home state.³⁷ In the newspaper advertising Affleck did not reach such a widespread audience as through the magazines, but from it he did reap greater profit.

A long letter to the Galveston News of September 7, 1867, illustrates the type of writing Affleck did for the newspapers. Under the title "Carbolic Acid," he took credit for the great interest in it expressed by the newspapers of the South.³⁸ "As not a word had been said or published on the value of this acid as a disinfectant, in the South, when I took it up this summer, it is impossible not to feel gratified on reading the paragraph in the issue of 29th ult., that in New Orleans 'its use had checked the tendency of yellow fever to become epidemic.'" It should be pointed out, he

³⁶ See n. 28 above for citations to the magazines that carried those articles.

³⁷ See for example, id. to D. D. T. Moore, April 25, 1868; id. to W. M. and M. L. Jones, June 13, 1868.

³⁸ Several notices concerning the value of carbolic acid had previously appeared in southern newspapers. Some of them were probably the

added, that if carbolic acid were so successful, even better results could be expected from Cresylic. "Experiments made with these two acids prove pure Carbolic acid will remain active for eight days; but Cresylic and Carbolic combined will exert its influence for thirty days." Affleck explained that he had been making experiments with Cresylic acid compounds of both the English manufacturers and of the New York company, "J. Buchan & Co., 130 Elizabeth Street, New York, who should by all means, advertise with you, and other papers South--I find to be extremely reliable." The endorsement of a friend in Maryland, Affleck continued, "in no way interested, except as a beneficiary from their use," was quoted to show that the uses of Cresylic in saponaceous compounds ranged from killing screw worms to purifying the sick room. Affleck's experiments bore out these facts.³⁹

Nowhere did Affleck express any interest in the Buchan sales; neither did he say that he was not connected with the company. He spoke of reported failures where carbolic acid had been utilized. Those who were dissatisfied with the results of carbolic acid should by all means give the saponaceous Cresylic compounds a trial, and he believed that their doubts would be removed. He added in conclusion,

the result of Affleck's efforts. Galveston Daily News, August 17, 18, 1867; New Orleans Times, July 7, 18, August 6, 21, 1867; New Orleans Picayune, June 18, July 2, August 10, 1867.

³⁹ Galveston Daily News, September 7, 1867.

however, that the carbolic acid should be used in the absence of Cresylic.⁴⁰

When Affleck was in New York in October, 1867, he tried to convince Buchan that they should advertise as widely in the newspapers as in the agricultural periodicals. They were not willing, however, to spend too much in publicizing Cresylic until they were convinced that the sales would merit the expenditure, and refused to support the newspaper campaign.⁴¹ Affleck continued to show them the value of advertisement in the newspapers, and soon after his return from the North he sent "two Nos. of the Galveston News, that you may see how much round the bush I have to go to get an advert. out of them, in return for my correspondence."⁴²

Affleck's practice of getting newspapers to carry advertisements without pay was certain to become tiresome to the editors. The Picayune had never been very co-operative, and only when there had been something in Affleck's letters of especial interest had the articles appeared. After December there were only very scattering items concerning carbolic and Cresylic in the Picayune.⁴³

40 Ibid. Affleck complained in a private letter to James because he had not received sufficient supplies to meet the demand for the acid. Others would take advantage of the needs and demands of the people, he said, if Cresylic were not available. Affleck to James, July 24, 1868.

41 Ibid. to Buchan and Company, December 21, 1867.

42 Ibid. The articles of which he spoke have not been located. The files of the News for this period are incomplete, especially the tri-weekly issues which usually carried Affleck's writings.

43 On December 21, 1867, Affleck wrote to Colonel Nixon, proprietor of the New Orleans Opportunist offering to correspond with that paper, which

No letters appeared in the Galveston News after this time. There appear to be two reasons for this. In the first place, Affleck found that he could make a more favorable agreement with the Houston Telegraph. Secondly, Richardson, editor of the News, was aware of Affleck's motives. When there were no paid advertisements forthcoming, he lost interest in further agricultural and Cressylic correspondence.⁴⁴

Sometime in May, 1868, Affleck made a very favorable agreement with the editor of the Houston Telegraph, whereby he was to publish a regular column in return for advertising; Affleck was to send in two columns weekly for the use of one-half column on the regular advertising pages.⁴⁵ He now had space in the usual advertising section and the free use of the paper for advocating Cressylic and other enterprises. Similar agreements were proposed with other papers, but while he did write for them occasionally, no formal understandings appear to have been agreed upon.⁴⁶

shows that he had decided not to try the Picayune further. He suggested subjects that would increase the circulation of the paper, such as, immigration, perennial grasses, etc. He also proposed traveling over the country to get subscriptions and advertisements if his expenses were paid. Nothing seems to have come of this proposition.

44 See id. to Richardson, May 8, 1868. Affleck complained because Richardson had not replied to letters, and he asked for the return of some articles that had not been printed.

45 Id. to J. G. Tracy, April 2, 1868.

46 See id. to Hixon, December 21, 1867; id. to E. B. Stout, December 19, 1867. In writing to Holbrook, publisher of the Picayune, January 9, 1868, Affleck proposed starting an agricultural department, which he would edit. Affleck would write about agricultural implements, fine stock, and other items that would bring in advertisements. His wish, he said, was to pay off an old indebtedness, but it would also be necessary to receive some "little something" besides "to keep the pot boiling." He sent along an article on hogs for Holbrook's perusal. Previously he had written to a breeder of hogs proposing to "puff" the hogs in return for some of the stock. In this case he was not successful. Id. to Stout,

The advertising space at Affleck's command as well as his agricultural columns were used sometimes for purposes other than the promotion of Cresylic. From time to time he pushed other products, and his private correspondence reveals that much of this advocacy was not wholly impersonal. For example, Affleck became interested in castor bean culture in the state. He showed through his columns in the Telegraph how they should be grown and graded for the market. At this time Affleck was under contract to furnish a northern company with castor beans for a commission.⁴⁷ Affleck also wrote a long article for the newspaper on the value of Goodrich potatoes when he was receiving a commission on the sales made by a Houston merchant.⁴⁸

By the end of August, 1868, Affleck believed that he had done his share in advertising the products manufactured by Buchan and Company, and he began to see what might be realized from other sources through his writings.⁴⁹ He wrote to various people who had needed products for sale and offered to place advertisements in the columns of the Telegraph in return for their products. On August 3, 1868, for

December 19, 1867. See also, for letters with similar purpose: id. to publishers of the San Antonio Herald, April 29, 1868; id. to Captain Jesselyn, publisher of the Austin State Gazette, May 9, 1868; id. to George A. Deits, August 3, 1868; id. to Edward J. Evans and Company, October 27, 1868.

⁴⁷ Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 4, 1868, et seq.; Affleck to H. J. Barker and Brothers, November 3, 1868.

⁴⁸ Id. to wife, October 26, 1868; id. to Edward J. Evans and Company, October 27, 1868; Houston Weekly Telegraph, August 14, 1868.

⁴⁹ See Houston Daily and Weekly Telegraph, May 10, 1868, et seq. The advertisement appeared regularly from May through August and irregularly after that.

example, Affleck wrote to George A. Deitz, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, saying he would "pay" for three insertions of an advertisement for him in the Telegraph if Deitz would send him specified quantities of certain types of grain.⁵⁰ This same procedure was followed in the case of Robert W. Scott, from whom Affleck desired cattle or other livestock.⁵¹

Affleck's writings for the Telegraph doubtless were of great value to the people of Texas and to the South generally although they were principally a rehash of what he had said many times. The information was presented in his clear, concise form and was easily understandable by those to whom it was directed. There was almost unanimous praise for his columns. So far as is known he was criticized only once, and then mildly, for what he wrote. It is probable that his column was widely read because it was harsh in condemnation of the Negroes in politics, the radicals, the carpetbaggers, the scalawags, and all persons in the North who continued to criticize the attitude of the South.⁵²

Growing out of his revived influence and interest in agricultural writing and advertisement of Cresylic acid, Affleck formulated plans for reviving his Almanac. He also hoped to publish an agricultural periodical, to be called the "Southern Rural Monthly" or "Texas Rural Monthly," and

⁵⁰ Affleck to George A. Deitz, August 3, 1868.

⁵¹ Id. to Scott, August 10, 1868. "In my notice, I will say what I believe as to breeding & sheep," he added. See also id. to Edward J. Evans, October 27, 1868; id. to William O. Webb, July 23, 1868.

⁵² See Houston Weekly Telegraph, April 1, 1868, at gen., for the column. See especially May 1, July 2, October 2, 1868, for praise of Affleck's agricultural writings.

pamphlets or booklets on agriculture. In December, 1867, Affleck wrote to a northern publisher and livestock breeder that he was at work on a "sort of Year Book of facts, Agricul. and Hortl. in the Southern states, intended to encourage immigration from the north & west, & from Europe; & to be of service to strangers in our climate & crops, that may come South. I shall force a large circulation, thro' the Southern state Govts & owners of land &c."⁵³

In September the first of the proposed handbooks, entitled "Hedging in the South," was ready for the publisher. By this time Affleck had outlined others that he expected to publish if someone could be found to underwrite them. Intended topics to be discussed were: orchards, vineyards, wine making, staple crops, the cotton worm, livestock, "The Homestead," and "so on, if found popular."⁵⁴ He soon learned, however, that most printing firms were not willing to risk the publication of works that might have no immediate return. Southern printers were financially weak, and northern publishers appeared to be little interested in publishing anything solely for sale and distribution in the South.⁵⁵

The plans for a monthly periodical attracted more interest, but it was soon made evident that sufficient support must be assured before beginning publication. To this end, Affleck carried on correspondence

⁵³ Affleck to N. P. Boyer and Company, December 19, 1867.

⁵⁴ *Id.* to A. Eyrick, September 9, 1868.

⁵⁵ *Id.* to Orange Judd and Company, July 13, August 13, 1868; *id.* to Nixon, July 9, 1868. As late as December, 1868, he still hoped to get a publisher. *Id.* to Robert McCoy, Masonic Publishing Company, December 21, 1868.

with prospective publishers, advertisers, and subscribers.⁵⁶ By August his plans had progressed far enough to warrant a notice in the Dallas Herald. "Mr. Thomas Affleck...has a publication in view that will prove of great value. His long and varied experience, and thorough knowledge of agricultural and horticultural matters, gives him an advantage in publication of this character over all others....Certainly no man in the United States is better qualified by education and experience to edit a first-rate rural journal."⁵⁷ Later, this same paper published a notice from its Houston correspondent that Affleck's "Rural Monthly" would probably appear in November. The editor was "certainly the best writer on agricultural and horticultural subjects in the South and one of the best in America," and the correspondent "hailed the prospective appearance" of the journal with satisfaction.⁵⁸

The periodical was never published. Affleck was not able to secure the advertisements or subscribers so quickly as he had hoped.⁵⁹ In September he explained to his wife that he had almost enough advertisements to begin the journal, "But the worm has trumped me for a little while."⁶⁰ He had also found that the political uncertainty in the state

⁵⁶ Id. to M. P. Boyer and Company, December 19, 1867; id. to Nixon, August 4, 1868; id. to O. Judd and Company, August 13, 1868; id. to Erastus Reed, June 16, 1868.

⁵⁷ Dallas Herald, August 22, 1868.

⁵⁸ Ibid., August 29, 1868.

⁵⁹ Affleck had made arrangements for articles for the first number. Affleck to Lieutenant George R. Lee ("Jasper Smoothly"), August 16, 1868; id. to S. B. Buckley, December 17, 1868. Some of the "Jasper Smoothly" sketches are in the Affleck Papers.

⁶⁰ Id. to wife, September 1, 1868.

61

interfered with plans involving any expenditure of money. Finally, Affleck's financial needs became so great by the middle of September that he was forced to devote more time to his Cresylic business and less to the publication program.

Affleck's Texas Rural Almanac and Farm and Garden Calendar for 1869 was successfully issued late in 1868. Profits were derived from the sale or trade of advertisements, from the sale of 20,000 Almanacs, and from the increased sales of Cresylic acid compounds.⁶² A discussion of the value of the compounds filled much of the space, and a share of the expense of the publication was borne by Buchan and Company.⁶³ Though the

61 Ibid.; id. to Erastus Reed, June 16, 1868; id. to Buchan and Company, September 4, 1868.

62 Id. to Mr. Strickland, December 22, 1868.

63 Id. to Buchan and Company, September 9, 1868. On March 7, Affleck had written the following to Buchan and Company: "I have made arrangements for...the Almanac's republication for 1869. Mainly to advocate our compounds, & to encourage Immigration to the South. By which last means I shall greatly increase its circulation. I proposed to Drs. Seely & Eames, that the Cresylic Co: should make an arrangement which I suggested, with the publisher, to insert about 10 pages on our subjects; partly in the text & partly in adverts." He also wanted the firm to purchase a number of the Almanacs to circulate gratuitously. Id. to Buchan and Company, March 7, 1868. For further information concerning the Almanac and the advertisement see: id. to R. Bloomfield and Company, January 12, 1868; id. to Buchan and Company, January 12, March 7, September 4, 7, 1868; id. to Guy M. Bryan, January 31, 1868; id. to Eames and Seely, August 14, September 9, 1868; id. to A. H. Rich, September 22, 1868. To show the favorable reception of Affleck's publication the following note from the Galveston News is in point: "We have been presented with 'Affleck's Texas Rural Almanac and Farm and Garden Calendar for 1869.' The author is too well-known to the people of Texas and indeed throughout the South to require any extended notice of this work. It is enough to say that the present work gives full evidence of the author's extensive practical knowledge of all the branches of Southern agriculture and gardening, and no Texas farmer ought to be without it. We would here state that

⁶⁴
 booklet does not compare favorably with the early Almanacs published by Affleck, it perhaps aided newcomers in Texas to raise better crops and to avoid costly mistakes.

Affleck's service to the Cresylic organization, both Seely and James and Buchan and Company, is illustrated by his actions in an affair that threatened to ruin the future of the product. This incident concerned the death of sheep owned by a famous sheep breeder and writer on the subject, Dr. Henry S. Randall, of Cortland Village, New York.⁶⁵ Randall had been urged by Buchan and Company to test the Cresylic dip at no expense to him in order to get his recommendation of its usefulness. The writer agreed to do so, but a large number of his most valuable sheep died immediately after having been dipped. When requested damages

though there are always an abundance of Northern publications called almanacs sic, to be had for the asking, and nearly all of which profess to give reliable information for farmers and gardeners, yet this information is not applicable to the soil and seasons, or to the products of the South, and the directions given are often only calculated to mislead. But Mr. Affleck has become familiar with all that pertains peculiarly to Southern agriculture, and every article is written especially for our farmers. He has had many years of experience as a practical farmer and horticulturist, and has written and published more on the subject than any other Southern writer known to us. Every farmer in Texas should have a copy of this work. Galveston Daily News, December 20, 1868.

⁶⁴ A proof copy of this edition of the Almanac is in the Affleck Papers.

⁶⁵ Henry S. Randall to Buchan and Company, October 8, 1868. See James I. Myer, "Henry Stephen Randall," in Dictionary of American Biography, V, 347-48. Randall's most widely circulated books were Sheep Husbandry in the South (New York, 1848) and The Practical Shepherd (New York, 1863). The latter went through thirty printings. His name became even more widely known through his writings for the agricultural periodicals in all sections. He was sheep-husbandry editor for Moore's Rural New Yorker from 1864 to 1868. Ibid.

66

were not paid, he threatened to sue the company.

The northern partners interested in the success of Cresylic were
67 almost ready to give up because of this mishap; but not so Affleck.

At first he hoped to explain the accident by showing that some of the
mixture had been too strong. But when a bill for \$3,140 in damages
68 was presented, he changed his tune.

He was sure that the death of the sheep must be blamed on some cause other than the dip. Affleck advised his associates to offer a maximum of \$1,000 or \$1,500 as a settlement and that only if necessary. Regardless of payments, he be-
69 lieved Randall could do little harm.

Affleck took steps in late September to meet any move that the
70 sheep-breeder might make. He advised the gathering of affidavits from those who had used the dip successfully. "Nothing reaches us but universal commendation & praise, for all of our compounds for the uses recommended," were the words he himself would include in his Almanac which was soon to be published. He would add the statements of a

66 Affleck to Buchan and Company, August 21, September 19, 1868. Buchan wrote that Dr. James had returned from seeing Randall. "He claims this loss on killing 32 lambs, @ \$50 to 100 ea., and injuring 104 others (\$15 ea. damages.) Is it possible that his stock was so valuable." James Buchan to Affleck, September 19, 1868.

67 James began to write more regularly to Affleck, drawing some caustic comments from the Texan. "My, bless me, my dear sir, what has stirred you up? Another letter so soon. There must be something in the wind! Ah! \$3,140! /sic/ That is something sure enough." Affleck to James, September 29, 1868. See also, id. to Buchan and Company, September 19, 1868.

68 Id. to Buchan and Company, August 21, September 4, 19, 21, 1868.

69 Buchan to Affleck, September 21, 1868.

70 Affleck to Buchan, September 29, 1868.

minister to bear him out. Affleck was now convinced that Buchan must not assume blame for the accident or pay any damages. Either action⁷¹ would give Randall an opening to attack the product.

On October 3 Affleck wrote to Randall, with whom the Texan appears⁷² to have been on friendly terms. In his own experience with the dip, Affleck said, "scab-insect, ticks all destroyed; sheep thriving; & the Negro, who could be smelled, 10 yards, completely deodorized for several days! A fact." Randall must be mistaken in blaming the loss of the sheep on the dip; probably the deaths of the animals could be traced to the disease that was at the time causing much damage in the East. Further, Affleck said Randall should have been more careful of his blooded stock and have tried the mixture on common sheep, if he were not certain of⁷³ the results.

Near the end of October, Affleck wrote to Buchan, who was now following Affleck's advice, that he was glad to find greater calm about the "Randall disaster." But now Affleck was faced with a serious problem in his home state. "To my intense annoyance," he wrote, Randall "is preparing an article on sheep for the Texas Almanac. Which I was urged to do." "Do you Mr. R. B/uchan/ call upon Dr. Richardson at 128 Wm. St.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*; *id.* to Barnes, September 29, 1868.

⁷² Randall to Buchan and Company, October 8, 1868. Randall had offered to allow Affleck's share of the damages to go unpaid because of the financial condition of Southerners.

⁷³ Affleck to Randall, October 3, 1868.

H. I. and say that at my request you wish to see Mr. Randall's article, with a view to a sheep Dip advert. And, if you find it necessary, do not hesitate at advertg. I could have done so and payed for it with my pen but have not time now to do it now [sic]. And had a good reason for avoiding it, if in my power."⁷⁴ Later, on November 3, Affleck again advised in case of suit to "let Randall rip; if he wishes to do So! It won't hurt us. The burden will fall on me--as you will see. For he wields an able pen & much influence. But, if you will all do your share in other matters, I shan't flinch!"⁷⁵ When Buchan tried to carry out Affleck's request to see the Randall article, he was met with a sharp⁷⁶ rebuff, and was instructed to advise Affleck on editorial etiquette.

The sequel to the controversy, which continued for some time, need only to pointed out. There is no evidence that any payment was ever made to the New York sheepman. Affleck's last letter to Buchan on the matter showed complete satisfaction: "I note Dr. Randall's article in the Amer: Farmer! It is just into our hands. And I think by this time, from your own experiments, you must be still more convinced that I have been in the right all the time, as to our compounds & their effect!! And I will be nearer right before I get through."⁷⁷ Nothing appeared in the Texas Almanac nor in the Texas papers that might have injured Affleck.

⁷⁴ Id. to Buchan and Company, October 25, 1868. See also id. to Eames, October 29, 1868; Buchan to Affleck, October 16, 1868.

⁷⁵ Affleck to Buchan and Company, November 3, 1868.

⁷⁶ Id. to id., November 23, 1868.

⁷⁷ Id. to Buchan, December 22, 1868. See American Farmer, Ser. VI, Vol. III, Pt. I (1868), 186. Randall here was speaking merely of the prices of sheep.

Affleck's agreement with Seely and Eames to form the Cresylic Acid Company had provided that besides his one-third share of the profits from the organization he would have the sole agency for Texas. Discounts were arranged through separate agreements with Seely and Eames and with Buchan and Company. ⁷⁸ It is impossible, however, to calculate the profits that Affleck derived from his connections with the Cresylic Acid Company. During the summer and early fall of 1867, it was difficult for Affleck to get statements from his partners concerning the work that was being done or what arrangements had been made concerning sales and advertisement. There are indications that during 1868 the royalties paid the Cresylic Acid Company by the Buchan Company were becoming steadily larger, but what part Affleck received, if any, cannot be determined. Certainly, Affleck felt that he was not being treated properly in view of the amount of work that he was doing. ⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Royalty to the Cresylic Acid Company amounted to 1 cent on bar soap, 3 cents per pound on dips, and 5 cents per pound on screw-worm ointment. Affleck to wife, October 23, 1867; *id.* to Eames, December 21, 1867. Affleck was to be allowed a 25, 30, and 33 per cent discount according to the articles. "Then the Cresylic Acid Co: allows me 30 percent Royalties it receives upon the sales thus affected through me; of which 30 percent, 10 comes out of myself of course! And 33 percent upon the compounds of the Co:; not saponaceous." The products made by the Cresylic Acid Company which did not have to be mixed with saponaceous elements would be directly handled by that company. Affleck to wife, November 9, 1867. Thus it would appear that Affleck was to get a dual cut on the sales of the products licensed to Buchan and Company, besides the third interest in the Cresylic Acid Company.

⁷⁹ In July, 1868, the royalty due the Cresylic Acid Company from sales up to that time was listed at \$514.32. Affleck to Buchan and Company, July 17, 1868. Royalties for September were \$299.54. *Id.* to Dunbar,

The indefiniteness of Affleck's position, and the fact that he owed considerable sums of money to his associates for his share in the company caused him much trouble and embarrassment. His situation was further complicated by the attachment of his property for debts, which had made it necessary at one time to assign his share of the
80
Cresylic Acid Company to his wife. Later it was necessary to transfer the stock to Buchan and Company as a guarantee for some Cresylic
81
compounds that he had bought for sale. He was consequently put in such a position that he could not be too demanding in his claims against Seely and Eames. It is not surprising that despite his complaints, he
82
was never able to get a satisfactory reply from his partners.

November 2, 1868. There is no way of ascertaining how this money was to be distributed or how much was kept by Buchan and Company for the Cresylic Acid Company's share of advertising cost. Seely and Eames made arrangements for rent, patents, etc., without consulting Affleck. No record is extant of the actual profits of the company. See id. to Eames, September 22, 1868, which shows how indefinite their arrangements were.

80 Id. to id., September 14, 22, 1868. Affleck wrote in explanation of the request that his stock be put in his wife's name that "Affairs look gloomy here. Since your neighbor, Sabin, base wretch!--forced Negro juries on us, in this country, two weeks ago--he is now a 'Military Judge'--the bearing of the Negroes is such, as to lead to the most alarming anticipations. Then, there are proceedings being instituted against many of us who took a lead here, that are very likely to prove ruinous. To guard against this, I earnestly beg of Prof. Seely and you--and instruct you--to issue the stock of the Company; issuing mine in the name of my wife, Mrs. A. M. Affleck. Do this, Doctor, without fail, or delay." Id. to id., September 22, 1868.

81 Id. to Buchan and Company, October 23, 1868.

82 In September, Affleck was informed that Seely and Eames had spent a large share of the profits for salesroom rent. Id. to Eames, September 21, 1868. For further information concerning the affairs of the Cresylic Acid Company and the difficulty faced by Affleck in getting a settlement or even a reply to his letters see: id. to Buchan and Company, September 17, 18,

In the direction of his Texas agency, Affleck encountered many problems. His financial situation necessitated the handling of his business in Dunbar's name at first.⁸³ He also had considerable trouble in controlling the practices of subagents. For example, there was the case of the drug firm of Stuart and Mair of Houston. This company had been dealing with Buchan and Company for some time, and did not care to pay an extra percentage to Affleck for handling the Cresylic products. When they refused to bear their just share of the advertising expense and work, Affleck wished to take away their agency. The Buchan Company⁸⁴ objected, however, because of the Houston firm's distribution facilities.

21, 23, December 22, 1868; *id.* to Seely and James, September 21, 22, 1868.

One letter seeking information indicates that Affleck's conscience bothered him concerning his relations with the English manufacturers of carbolic compounds. "I am placed--as I have told you repeatedly, in the most unpleasant position with regard to the McDougalls. You have never taken the trouble to confirm to me--& so enable me to prove to the Mc-D's, my assurance to them--that yr. patents embrace, as to time & facts; what you represented to me. I want & must have copies of all of the patents. Must I, a member of the Co., place that Co. in the position that my application to the Patent Office for these copies will place it. My honour is at stake with the McDougalls--who have treated me throughout in the most gentlemanly manner." *Id.* to Seely and James, August 14, 1868.

⁸³ *Id.* to Buchan and Company, February 28, 1868.

⁸⁴ *Id.* to Stuart and Mair, September 7, 9, 1868; *id.* to Buchan and Company, September 4, 7, November 6, 1868. Affleck intended to be rid of the sub-agency held by Stuart and Mair when he took over the agency personally. This could be accomplished because the agreement signed by Dunbar included a statement which read "shall continue so long as under the control of the said I. D. A. as General Agent." *Id.* to James Buchan and Company, September 17, 1868.

A further cause of trouble with Stuart and Mair was their practice of mixing compounds of Cresylic and carbolic acids in their own laboratories and selling them as the patented product. Although it was followed by Affleck, himself, he objected to the practice by others. Similar problems arose in connection with other agents.

Affleck made different types of arrangements for the distribution of the compounds. Peddlers were commissioned, and several were selected to carry the product throughout the state for sale to individual stock raisers. Apparently the most satisfactory arrangement, however, was that made with the firm of R. F. George of Galveston. This contract had originally been made in the name of Dunbar, but a friendly personal relationship between George and Affleck seems to have developed, and they soon worked out a partnership agreement. According to its terms Affleck and George were to share profits equally. It was necessary for Affleck to be in partnership with someone who had enough cash or credit

85 *Id.* to Stuart and Mair, September 9, 25, November 28, 1868; *id.* to Buchan and Company, September 7, 17, 23, November 8, 23, 28, 1868; *Houston Daily Telegraph*, November 1, 1868. One of Affleck's worries was that some other company might enter into competition with the Cresylic Acid Company. This would not have been difficult because various creosotes could have been used efficiently in controlling parasitic pests. Affleck to Buchan and Company, September 18, 28, 1868.

86 *Id.* to Stuart and Mair, September 7, 1868; *id.* to John Sproul, May 22, 1868; *id.* to Buchan and Company, September 18, 21, 1868.

87 Contract between I. D. Affleck and R. F. George, September 1, 1867.

88 Affleck to George, December 15, 1868. This relationship seems to have been in effect for some time before the formal contract was made.

to pay for consignments of the Cresylic compounds from Duchan and

89

Company. Before the end of 1868 the partners were occupying the same building in Galveston, and their relationship was mutually satis-

90

factory. Affleck entertained considerable hopes for the future of the partnership and was enthusiastic concerning it until his death.

Unquestionably the most important contribution to rural economy by Affleck after the Civil War was his introduction of and efforts to popularize Cresylic and other carbolic compounds. This product doubtless would have saved the United States livestock industry millions of dollars if it had been more generally used after its introduction. Affleck's work in this connection must be given much credit as his promotions began the slow process of introducing to the agrarian population of the United States an immensely valuable product. Recent studies of the United States Department of Agriculture bear out the fact that the product is the best for treating certain parasitic scourges of animals and is successful in treating almost all of them. Various

91

89 *Id.* to Dunbar, October 14, 1868; *id.* to George, December 15, 1868.

90 *Id.* to Dunbar, October 14, 1868.

91 See for supporting evidence to this conclusion the following publications of the United States Department of Agriculture: Marion Ines, The Sheep Tick and Its Eradication by Dipping, *Farmers' Bulletin*, No. 798 (Washington, 1917); *id.*, Sheep Scab, *ibid.*, No. 713 (Washington, 1927); Maurice C. Hall, Parasites and Parasitic Diseases of Sheep, *ibid.*, No. 1330 (Washington, 1918); C. O. Goodpasture, Report of the Work Against Sheep Scab in 1903, in Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the Year of 1903 (Washington, 1904); Robert M. Chapin, The Dimethyl Sulphate Test of Creosote Oils and Creosote Dips; a Substitute for the Sulphuration Test, Circular 167 (Washington, 1930); William M. Mackellar and George H. Hart, Eradicating Cattle Ticks in California, *ibid.*, Circular 174 (Washington, 1930), 292.

farm bulletins issued by the Department of Agriculture show that the use of creosote dips would have stopped the great losses of animals by scab, screw worms, maggots, Texas fever, foot-rot, and other parasitic diseases.⁹²

Contemporary evidence shows that many people of the time realized the significance of the remedy for the animal diseases. Usually, however, these men were the more advanced leaders and their influence was slow in being felt.⁹³ If Affleck had lived longer, the usefulness of

⁹² See especially Maurice C. Hall, Our Present Knowledge of the Distribution and Importance of Some Parasitic Diseases of Sheep and Cattle in the United States, United States Department of Agriculture, Circular 193 (Washington, 1912), 456-61; A. D. Malvin and John R. Mohler, Lip-and-Leg Illustration of Sheep, *ibid.*, Circular 160 (Washington, 1910), 32; Cooper Cortice, Progress and Prospects of Tick Eradication in Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, 1910 (Washington, 1912), 255-56.

⁹³ Affleck to George W. Kendall, May 11, 1867; C. V. Riley to Affleck, July 30, 1868; Affleck to Riley, July 20, 1868; *id.* to Richard Brontse, May 21, 1868; Houston Daily Telegraph, September 12, 1868. In Affleck's Account Book, 1859-1874, for the Civil War period there is proof of the effects of scab among Texas sheep. During the war, in 1862, Affleck accepted the care of a flock of sheep on shares for a man who was joining the army. In 1864 the sheep were returned, and the account shows that there was a smaller number returned than had been accepted because of the ravages of scab. Account Book, 1859-1874, p. 71. On October 31, 1868, Ashbel Smith wrote Colonel B. P. Johnson the following: "Adverting to wool growing in Australia you inquire what is to hinder us in Texas to succeed. I am more than ever convinced that nearly all Texas is admirably adapted to sheep so far as climate is concerned. I am informed however that in some interior districts, on the Trinity, Brazos, Colorado and intervening streams sheep raising has been of late somewhat discouraging. As well as I can learn there are two chief reasons:--the nuisance of dogs and scab; the latter being somewhat diffused. Decoctions of tobacco are supposed to cure...if the flockmaster is not too lazy to use it. Preparations of carbolic and cresylic acid are also much vaunted." Ashbel Smith Papers, Texas University Department of Archives. The Houston Telegraph, September 12, 1868, published an address to the wool growers of Texas, which stated in part that "The general prevalence of the scab is a serious obstacle to our success, and must be removed before we can expect to reap the full

the cresotes would have been much more widely known. Although Affleck often vaunted the effectiveness of cresylic for cures that would have been impractical or inefficient,⁹⁴ he did not realize completely the many uses that were later to be found for the product.

benefits of our natural advantages." The causes of Texas fever were not known at the time.

⁹⁴ For example he encouraged its use for combatting the cotton worm. See n. 28 above.

XVII

THE CLOSE OF A CAREER

Affleck's last two years were exceedingly unhappy ones. He was haunted by past failures and mistakes. Besides his troubles in attempting to establish a business, he had problems of a more personal nature that were not to be settled except with his death. Affleck's position after his return from Europe was especially embarrassing because of the failure of his immigration scheme. He had spent the money that had been paid to the Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company for immigrant laborers. Some persons demanded to know why there was not forthcoming either a return of the money or the promised workmen.

On May 11 Affleck wrote to Willard Richardson, editor of the Galveston News, enclosing his explanation of the immigration failure. At the same time he explained that the subscriptions for stock that had been signed when the company was being organized must be collected.¹ From time to time Affleck offered different reasons for the failure or placed emphasis on different ones, but in general the letter that he wrote to the Galveston News contained the main arguments. The fault lay in the lack of co-operation from the state and his associates.²

¹ Affleck to Richardson, May 11, 1867.

² Galveston Daily News, May 16, 1867. The letter showing Affleck's reasoning is quoted at length to show why he was so bitter in his feeling toward those who had not been willing to help him. "Honestly believing that there was no hope for Texas but in a vast increase to her population, of a good class of white men; that the vast majority of the people of the Northern States were Radicals of the deepest dye, and our uncompromising unfriends, if not bitter enemies, and as such not likely to come amongst us in any great numbers; that there were, still, a very large minority in

Soon after this letter had appeared in the paper, a Galveston correspondent who apparently ignored Affleck's explanation of the fiasco, attacked the letter promoter. "Representative" explained that he had "some indirect interest myself in the subject matter of inquiry, and knowing that there are others more directly concerned,

those States who, as Copperheads, so-called, were in most unhappy position and especially in all of the Western States, and would gladly seek homes amongst us; and believing, too, that a still larger and quite as desirable an addition to our population, could be found in Great Britain, and who could be induced by a proper course to seek for employment and homes here, I crossed the ocean in December, 1865, to see how the matter stood there, and on my way through the North, published letters, calling attention to Texas.

"I was, further, led to this movement by assurances from Great Britain that direct trade with us for cotton, wool, hides and meats, dead and alive, was anxiously desired; and that, if I could inaugurate a trade of the kind, I might find in it my own individual advantage, as well as greatly benefit the State. A movement had been set afoot, there, to attempt the importation from Texas, direct, of live cattle and sheep, and of cured meats; and which, I learnt, needed fostering by the presence of parties from this State fully conversant with the business.

"I remained in Great Britain three months, actively engaged the whole time more for the ultimate advantage of the State than of myself. I published, at my own expense, a pamphlet descriptive of the State and her resources; of which many thousands were circulated. And wrote quite a number of letters, which were published in many of the leading papers and journals.

"The result was, that quite an interest was excited relative to Texas; with an amount of correspondence brought upon myself little short of overwhelming.

"The assurances I had of a desire to open up direct trade with us, were fully confirmed. Plans were discussed and arrangements made. All depending, however, upon the course to be taken by the State Government and people in the North.

"The results, up to a certain point are well known.

"On my return, I found an apparent desire, amongst a great many, to aid in anything that would bring us people. And especially farm and other laborers. Some few, very few, assisted me readily and effectively.

"Meetings were held. A plan was adopted. Changes were made in those proposed by me. Amongst the rest, that of a proportion of preferred stock in the company which was projected, being offered, which I did not willingly

I beg to submit, through your columns, a request that Mr. Affleck, the late representative of the Texas Land Labor and Immigration Company, will communicate to your paper what disposition had been made of the money advanced in gold, on the contracts to deliver laborers at Galveston, Texas, by sundry parties, in large amount during the summer of 1866?—Whether the money so advanced is still in his hands, and, if so, what he proposes to do with it; and, if not in his hands, what

approve of. But, to which, as others more thoroughly conversant than I with the formation of such companies had confidence and deemed indispensable to success, I gave way.

"The Texas Land, Labor & Immigration Company was formed and organized, under an Executive Committee of some of the best business men in the State, as was supposed.

"Under that organization I accepted the position of General Agent; went to Austin, and, after a long detention there, saw a very liberal charter granted to the company; but saw that there was little or no hope of any material aid for the State, from that Legislature, towards the cause of immigration or of any material development of the resources of the State, although seed was sown which will fructify.

"The season being far advanced, and the arrangements I had made in Great Britain—amongst the rest, for a large concern to cure meats, in every form, which had proven commercially successful, for exportation—I hastened on. Orders having first, however, been sent in to the company, under its primary organization, for the hiring and importation of numbers of laborers and others. The parties thus ordering paying to the company \$20 for each laborer thus ordered, to cover costs of hiring and shipping, with other expenses of the company, as printing, &c. And \$40 for each laborer, deposited with the factors of the parties, to be paid over to the order of the General Agent of the company, on the landing of the immigrants at the port of Galveston. Of this sum of \$20 for each, \$15 was paid to me, to cover expenses incurred in Austin, and to be incurred in putting on shipboard the emigrants. And for printing, publishing, &c. there.

"For any compensation for my own time and labors, I looked to the success of what was, and am still confident, could easily be made a great and successful venture.

has become of it, and to whom shall those who are interested apply for its refunding, in case the contract to deliver laborers shall

"The charter having been granted, and the larger portion of the stock required preliminary to its final organization, having been subscribed; and nothing more required of the Executive Committee than to carry out that organization, and forward me authority under it as its General Agent, I set to work immediately on my arrival in England and soon had all of the emigrants that were provided for, ready to go out.

"To do so, cost me no trifle not only of individual effort, but of money outlay. One agent operated in the South of France very successfully; others in Scotland and England. Offers were made from Poland, Holland, Belgium, &c.

"My letters published in the News--I presume, for I have seen but few of them--showed the state of anxiety which I soon found myself laboring under. Days, weeks, and soon months passed! not a word of any final organization of the company under the charter! without which, and authority subsequent, I could do nothing.

"I soon began to have anxious enquiries from the emigrants, some of whom had given up their places, others resigned their homes, sold off their little goods and chattels, and found themselves in a most unhappy and anxious position.

"But, think of mine! I will not enlarge upon it. The result was that I was utterly overpowered, and, for the first time in my life, succumbed physically, to mental harassment and anxiety.

"To release myself from the position in which I was thus placed required efforts and sacrifices which I do not care to recount. Fortunately, I was warned to some extent, from a most equally unhappy position in which I found Mr. Wakeig on my arrival in England; and which he has made public since his return.

"Mr. Levy, too, was in a predicament, from the conditions annexed to his operations--that the passage money, remitted to Liverpool for the purpose, could only be drawn for when the emigrants were actually on board a ship in the Mersey, whilst the people were hundreds of miles to the eastward in Poland!

"Let me repeat, I performed my duty to the full; at a cost, for this first experiment, far greater than the sum paid to me for the purpose. But, the passage money being made payable in Galveston, to my order as general agent of the company under the charter, I had no power to ship those people, nor would I take the responsibility, if I could, to do so, unless as such general agent.

"The loss to me, in actual money outlay, has been a heavy one. I look, yet, to the resuscitation and success of the company for its repayment.

have been abandoned....Inasmuch as Mr. Affleck has hitherto written freely to your paper on this subject in its general features, I deem it not improper to ask that his pen should give the history of this matter spoken of, because it occurs to me to be one of vital importance to the future success of not only this company, but all similar ³ undertakings."

"There was not a dollar collected of the stock subscribed in Galveston. That must, in all honor, be paid up. And will, I think, suffice to repay the sum of \$20 for each laborer ordered and paid to the company as its commission; and should also pay the bills for the printing; which, I learn, are yet unpaid.

"There I leave the matter for the present.

"It is with great unwillingness that I make such a public exposé of the failure of this enterprise. But justice to myself required it. It has a very bad effect in England. Although I have it all in almost silence there; not so, the disappointed emigrants, who made bitter complaints, and ultimately went, nearly all, to other countries. Some few came to Texas, and, I have not a doubt would vouch for the extent of my seal and labors, if it were needed.

"There is the more necessity for renewed and greater efforts. The results of such efforts made, not only in Europe, but all over this Continent, would be all that the most enthusiastic citizen of Texas could desire in aid of her future as a white man's country.

"I do not write thus to advance any interests of my own in connection with any immigration scheme. Nothing short of a prominent, well paid official position from the State, with ample means in cash to enable me to make my services of suitable value to the state, would tempt me to making /sic/ another such experiment; although I shall labor as zealously as ever with my pen in aid of the cause.

"I have much to say on the subject, and will, with your permission, use your columns for the purpose. There are other papers in the State with which I would gladly correspond, but it is physically impossible to go over the same subject more than once."

3 Galveston Daily News, May 24, 1867. There was also at this time a notice in the Dallas Herald, but it was kindly in tone. Dallas Herald, May 25, 1867.

Either Affleck did not see the criticism of "Representative" in the Galveston News or he ignored it. In any case his next letter in that paper did not mention his past failures, but instead offered advice to a "Landholders Convention" that was to meet in Houston on June 12, 1867. There must be unified effort, Affleck urged. The delegates must disregard the desires of those who in the past had shown that they were not interested in the emigration of whites from Europe and from the North. He was more convinced than ever that the South must be made a white man's country if it were to be saved from utter demoralization. Through proper organization and leadership the country could still be saved. Affleck hinted in the letter to the convention that his services were available if demanded.⁴

Affleck's debts, always pressing, caused him to look again to promotional possibilities as a solution. He attempted to resurrect the interest that he had developed in plans to irrigate and settle the Rio Grande Valley. Now Affleck believed that if the project could be got under way, he could "turn a great part of the Emigration of Southern families from Tuxpan, Honduras, Brazil &c. to El Paso."⁵ Later he wrote to H. S. Manson of Galveston, an associate in various proposed enterprises, that they might be able to incorporate in their plans the proposed railroad to the West.⁶

By June 1, 1867, Affleck had determined that he would no longer bear the insults appearing in the newspapers and in personal correspond-

⁴ Galveston Daily News, May 30, 1867.

⁵ Ibid.; Affleck to G. M. Garcia, May 31, 1867; id. to Garcia and French, May 31, 1867.

⁶ "Do you know anything of an Act of Incorporation of a sort of 'Credit

7
ence. He wrote to James Sorley of Galveston, who had been prominent in the formation of the Immigration company, that "The Ex: Commt: of the T. L. L. and I. Co. seems inclined to leave me to bear all the brunt! They must not do it. I will not suffer in silence. If the subs. to stock in Galveston is collected it will pay all claims to others. And that must be done." 8 On the same day he wrote to Munson that "I am being written to very sharply about it. And am resolved not to stand in the position of being the party in any way to blame & in no way responsible for those sums....When I tell you that I am as unhappy about all this, as a poor sick devil can be, you will all of you hunt up the list & press it's conditions." 9

Four days later he wrote to another prominent member of the company's executive committee, Dr. J. C. Massie, that he found himself in a very unhappy condition because of the failure of the company to organize under its charter. "I did my duty in the matter," Affleck stated, "Relied upon the Executive Commt.--composed, as all acknowledged, of some of the first business men in the state. I expended not only an entire year of time and services, but a very large amount of

Mobilier' Co. granted by Texas Legis. between 1854-57....Please inquire into it."

7 See p.455 below; Affleck to M. S. Munson, June 1, 1867.

8 Affleck to James Sorley, June 1, 1867.

9 Id. to Munson, June 1, 1867.

money. Nothing was needed to make the Co. a great success but its organisation under the charter and the appointment of the Agent of the Co. thus legally formed." Affleck argued that the executive committee had agreed to furnish the laborers. They had managed, however, so that their agent, Affleck, received the blame for the failure. Unless the members of the board straightened things out, he warned, there would be embarrassment for all. "If this is done," he concluded, "I will submit to the heavy loss I have incurred--if it is done without delay--if not, the whole thing must be laid open, and I must do the best I can to relieve myself from the wretched position in which I am placed....¹⁰To you I need say no more." A similar letter was sent to William H. Herndon, on June 6, 1867. Affleck queried: "What became of the Stock Subrs. list of L. L. and I. Co.? Hughes says he gave it to you. Enough must be collected to pay back moneys to the Ex. Comm.--not to me--but for which I am being vilely abused; or I shall be forced¹¹ to make a big fuss! I sunk \$25,000. But! Ah! who paid me."

On July 3, Affleck finally wrote the threatened exposé laying the blame for his failure on the executive committee. He held them also responsible for any claims against the company. He traced again the work that had been done in preparing the way for a successful movement. A weary time had been spent in getting the charter and other acts

¹⁰ Id. to Massie, June 5, 1867.

¹¹ Id. to Herndon, June 6, 1867.

indispensable to immigration success through the legislature. "Orders were taken by the Executive Committee before the passage of the act of incorporation. The amounts paid in as commission were paid to and re-credited for by the Executive Committee, through their Secretary. Not to me. The passage money was payable to the Executive's order." Affleck reiterated that he was merely acting as the agent of the company and thus must be relieved of responsibility for its failure. Again he showed how he had labored while in England; all that was needed was for the company to give him an official status. When this was not forthcoming, he had had no alternative except to give up all attempts to bring over the laborers. "I presume to cast the blame of this failure upon no one. I only know that is [sic] DOES NOT REST UPON ME. I am prepared to render a full account of my agency to the executive committee whenever they will afford me the opportunity, which I anxiously sought, when in Galveston, for the purpose." Affleck was firmly convinced that the amount of stock subscribed in Galveston alone would more than pay for the losses suffered by people who had paid the initial fees. "It is extremely unjust," Affleck concluded, "that the onus of this failure of what could have been made, and can yet be made,¹² a great and successful enterprise should be cast upon me. It is unfortunately true, however, than an unhappily low trait of human nature leads

12 In his letters to the News of June 1 and of May 30 concerning the landholders convention he had intimated that he would be perfectly willing to have his services utilized if there was any possibility of getting proper support.

that class who yelp at the heels of enterprise, being themselves incapable of leading, to exult over and attempt to besmear some one with their slime in a cause like this." Affleck also replied to some of the aspersions upon his efforts. "A Waco sheet spoke of my having tried to understate Mr. Mcraig's efforts. No one knows better than Mr. M. that this is utterly untrue. On the contrary, Mr. M., now having his eyes open to the fact that he cannot work for nothing, having now experience in this character of enterprise, is the very man to take up this charter and operate successfully under it. For my part I am satisfied, but will continue to use my pen, and every effort in my power towards making Texas 'a white man's country,'"¹³

Although Affleck was very bitter concerning his treatment at the hands of the members of the executive committee,¹⁴ on August 31 he proposed trying to end the affair by raising some of the money himself to be returned to the people ordering servants. In writing to J. S. Sellers, a member of the executive committee, Affleck expressed his desire to be rid of the "harrassments" amounting "almost in some cases to personal insult." He offered to make good one half of the amount paid for laborers, less \$200 that had been given to the French agent, if the committee would make up the rest. Although Affleck would have to pay his part in notes, he considered that it was a "most liberal proposition." "It is well known that I did my full duty in this matter. That I have expended an amount of

¹³ Galveston Daily News, July 11, 1867.

¹⁴ Affleck to Charles Power, June 8, 1867: "I went over with every

labor of mind and body in the cause, scarcely any money would compensate. And that failure was through no fault of mine."¹⁵ Here the matter seems to have ended without any further attempt to make re payment; records do not show that anyone was repaid.

During 1867 and 1868 Glenlythe and Affleck's other personal property underwent rapid depletion and loss, due in part to the neglect of the owner. There was little chance that the plantation would be profitable enough to ward off the great demands of creditors. His large indebtedness, some dating back to the pre-war period, made his problems more difficult. Only an enterprise that would promise large returns would afford a means of holding his lands.

While Affleck was away from home,¹⁶ Dunbar and Mrs. Affleck had managed his plantation as best they could. During 1866 Mr. Inge had been in joint control with Dunbar until the return of Affleck and his wife from England.¹⁷ Crops on the plantation during 1865 and 1866 had been small and no better arrangements had been made for 1867.¹⁸ There was to be a rather halfhearted attempt on Affleck's part to

prospect for a great success in the immigration plan proposed. But, the whole thing was allowed to fail, through the sheerest indifference to pledges, by men of position on the Ex. Committee." See also, *id.* to Rev. W. R. Marshall, March 31, 1867, for practically the same statement.

¹⁵ *Id.* to J. S. Sellers, August 31, 1867. Affleck explained that a copy of the letter was being sent to each member of the executive committee.

¹⁶ See Chaps. X-XVI.

¹⁷ Mrs. Affleck to Dunbar, March 2, 1867.

¹⁸ Affleck to *id.*, March 5, 1867.

keep the plantation productive, but conditions in the state afforded slight hope to the planter.

Regardless of the very real difficulties, however, his attitude toward Negro labor indicated that he would not be satisfied with their work under the best of conditions. The reports that he gave concerning the Negro and the problems facing the white planter showed that he was greatly prejudiced against the freedmen. As long as the Negro was under the influence of northern "emissaries," he intended to be free of their problems.

Affleck made little effort to adjust himself to new conditions, but again his experiences were not unique. The reports that he gave from time to time on conditions in the state, on his plantation, and in the South generally, afford a fair picture of the planters' view of the situation. In May, 1867, soon after his return from Europe, Affleck wrote that he found "matters quiet. But little work being done. Still crops are promising. And if not Providence forbids, the results will be good. A deep feeling pervades the entire South on account of forced Negro suffrage. All recognize, that there is no alternative but submission. But it has embittered the feeling a thousand fold."¹⁹ "Negro suffrage is actually forced upon us: and has to be submitted to! But oh! the intensity of hatred to the Yankees it has generated! As some have said--they have put a dirty weapon into our hands and we will beat out their base brains

¹⁹ Affleck to Seely and Eames, May 10, 1867.

with it."²⁰ He had found the "North tenfold more bitter and dangerous, from the very fact of their success in forcing Negro suffrage, Juries &c. upon us. God only knows what next!"²¹ Again he reported that "At present the sole thought here is of the dangers of the hour, from the fearful tampering with the Negroes by Northern radical incendiaries. The feeling is one of intense anxiety. In which I participate."²² Two months later Affleck wrote that "The Negroes are daily becoming more and more unendurable, under the teachings of Radical missionaries."²³ White labor was the only kind that could be profitably hired in the state. He reported to former Governor Joseph E. Brown what seems to have been the general conclusion of South Texans: "Crops worked by white refugees from your state are superb. Those worked by Negroes, under the absurd system that has been adopted by many--of renting to Negroes for a portion of the crops--are nearly in every instance which has come under my eyes, completely smothered in grass and weeds."²⁴ In August, 1867, Affleck was even more gloomy concerning conditions. Heavy rains had held the cotton crop back, and worms were threatening to destroy what was made.

As the new year began, Affleck's prophecies for the future of the South were dark indeed. "We are having trying times here," he

20 Id. to Lafane, May 10, 1867.

21 Id. to Gillett, May 12, 1867.

22 Id. to Adrian S. Clark, May 18, 1867.

23 Id. to Editor of Galveston News, July 11, 1867.

24 Id. to Brown, June 12, 1867. See also, Id. to Marshall F. Wilder, June 2, 1867; Galveston Daily News, August 8, 10, 1867, for similar views.

wrote on January 8. "In Texas we suffer greatly; but nothing to the other Southern States. There, they are almost in the condition of Jamaica or St. Domingo. I look daily for a war of races. Here the Negroes are utterly worthless. But they manage to live--those that don't die, caught in the act of killing other people's stock." ²⁵ To a northern acquaintance he wrote later in the month, "I look for serious trouble all over the South, when the incendiary scoundrels now overrunning the country, poisoning the minds of the Negroes, learn of the wiping out of all civil law, and the placing us under Military Govt. They will use it in the most vicious teachings to the Negroes.... Here we have little cause for anxiety, except in the fact, the Negroes as a race, will not make one fourth of a support for themselves this coming season. It is impossible to make a corn crop here, commencing work after the middle of Feb. ²⁶ Last year they cleaned out all of the Hogs, and this year they will finish up the cattle or be finished up themselves--which I think likely. I had several hundreds of the finest hogs in the state, about 18 months ago. This winter I killed 7 half fed brutes. And today I gave away the remainder, 14! What a glorious ²⁷ system of reconstruction!"

After the election of February for the Reconstruction convention ²⁸ of 1868-1869, conditions became even worse. Soon after the convention

25 Affleck to William Duin, January 8, 1869.

26 The Negroes were at this time waiting for the election to the convention that was to be held, February 10-14.

27 Affleck to Orange Judd and Company, January 26, 1868.

28 Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 200 ff. On February 15, Affleck

had begun its sessions on June 1, Affleck gave the depressing report that "Not much will be done on the Cotton plan. until this thrice accursed Yankee nigger convention has done its worst. It is now very dry. If that continues, the worm will not spread very greatly. If it comes dark, moist, weather, they will take all the crop. Even Cressylio won't stop it! Because it is not to be expected that Negroes are going to exert themselves, even to the extent they sometimes do, with Juries to sit on and condemn white men and let Niggers go; and with their convention actually at work making laws that are, as they ²⁹ express it, to 'make the bottom rail, the top rail!'"

By July Texans were finding means to solve some of their race questions. The Ku Klux Klan had begun to appear over the state, and ³⁰ white men were asserting their independence. Where there were no formal organizations of the Klan, the citizenry were ready at a moment's call to rise up against any real or supposed oppression on the part of the Negroes or the radicals. In mid-July, 1868, Affleck wrote that "Last week there was great anxiety all over Central Texas--The Negroes on the Brazos were incited by white ruffians, strangers, to a resistance

reported that "As yet, scarcely a furrow is turned here. Voting for the Convention has fully occupied the Negroes. Polls closed yesterday. What the result may be, I cannot even guess. Except, that a constitution will never be accepted here, in Texas, that includes Negro suffrage." Affleck to W. M. and M. L. Jones, February 15, 1868. See also Affleck to Dr. N. B. Cloud, February 15, 1868.

²⁹ Id. to James Buchan, June 13, 1868. See also id. to Eames, June 30, 1868.

³⁰ Ransdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 192.

of authority, Civil and Military. Over 30 were killed by Military. Still they held out; over 1,500 strong; until their true friends, their old masters went boldly out amongst them, persuaded them to give up the chief offenders and disband.³¹ By fall cooperative quiet was the rule; in Washington County most of the Negro, carpetbag, and scalawag element had been intimidated.³² In December, 1868, Affleck intimated that the worst was over in so far as the Negro problem was concerned. "The high prices of cotton, the removal of that accursed Freedman's Bureau [sic] and the sudden stoppage occasionally put to the theiving [sic] and cattle and hog killing, is

³¹ Affleck to Blymer, Norton and Company, July 20, 1868. See also, id. to Orange Judd and Company, August 13, 1868; id. to Dr. Henry S. Randall, October 3, 1868.

³² Id. to James Buchan, October 3, 1868. The last important incident that Affleck reported was in this letter. "A message all over the Country this morning, for white men to rally at Unionhill, six miles west of us, to prevent a Negro insurrection or riot. The boys have gone. Someone thrashed an insolent Negro yesterday. And as the cursed Yankee Carpetbag tribe assured them that their--the Negroes'--sacred persons must not be touched from a cause or for any offence, they are gathering in armed hundreds to 'hang the damned white trash'! I have been expecting it all summer. This is a bad locality for any thing of the kind. There will to 3 to 500 of the most desperate fighting men in the world there today. The fact is, the people are worn out with this kind of thing. And it needs but a spark to produce a flame that will destroy every armed Negro and every Scalawag in this part of Texas....God help them poor devils, and every carpet-bag Scalawag in this country, if a gun is fired this day! Every effort is being used to bring about just such collisions, to act upon your election. And the people have suffered patiently, until their patience is worn out."

improving matters here. A good many negroes are doing all of half-
³³
 work."

Affleck wrote numerous letters to Northerners describing conditions in the state and pleading for an understanding of the problems faced by the South. Many of the letters were to creditors explaining in part why he was unable to pay his indebtedness. When conditions had become settled enough to allow planning for the future, Affleck no longer held his plantation.

Four Negro families, octogenarians principally, Affleck said, and three families of white emigrants were the only tenants at Glenlythe during 1867 and 1868. The former proved to be lazy and undependable, especially during the periods when they were most needed. The latter were good workers and further proved to Affleck that white
³⁴
 labor was the only solution for the labor question in the state. But a plantation of over 3,000 acres, a large part of which was ready for cultivation, could not be worked with this meager labor supply, even if it had been efficient. Hardships and lack of income were the results. Extraordinary expenses resulting from Affleck's outside in-
³⁵
 terests increased the financial stringency.

³³ *Id.* to *id.*, December 22, 1868.

³⁴ *Id.* to Dr. J. A. Warder, May 30, 1867; *id.* to Sorley, June 1, 1867; *id.* to Lafone, June 4, 1867; *id.* to Charles Power, June 8, 1867; *id.* to Gay, June 9, December 20, 1867; *id.* to A. B. Thompson, and Company, July 25, 1867; *id.* to Sessums and Company, December 7, 1867; *id.* to S. H. Lambdin, December 26, 1867; *id.* to General Negley, December 31, 1867.

³⁵ Affleck's taxes for 1867 amounted to \$139.56, which was one of the

During the summer of 1867 Affleck believed for a time that his plantation would provide enough for the barest necessities. With that prospect and the hope of income from other sources, he was more optimistic about the future.³⁶ However, harvest time came simultaneously with the political turmoil caused by the removal of the friendly Throckmorton government,³⁷ and Affleck, like many others, felt that there was little reason for struggling longer in the losing fight.³⁸

He became convinced that the best solution was to partition his plantation and sell it to Germans or others who might have money.³⁹ If he were to derive anything from his property, however, the demands of his creditors must be settled. Since his return from Europe, he had been continually plagued with demands and threats of suits. A typical reply was that "I trust the holder of the note in question will not put it in suit. I have no means of paying it at present. But intend putting my place on the market as soon as it can be done--

highest in the county. Early in 1868 the convention tax was collected, which amounted in the case of Affleck to \$57.75. Washington County Assessment Book, 1867; Washington County Collectors' Book, 1867, 1868.

³⁶ Affleck to Sorley, June 1, 1867; *id.* to Lafone, June 4, 1867; *id.* to Gay, June 9, 1867; *id.* to Charles Congreve and Company, June 22, 1867; *id.* to A. B. Thompson and Company, July 25, 1867.

³⁷ He was removed July 30, 1867. Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, 169.

³⁸ Affleck to Editor of Galveston News, July 11, 1867; *id.* to Lafone, July 29, August 12, 1867.

³⁹ *Id.* to Wheeler and Upshaw, May 16, 1867.

40
 during the coming fall." During the summer Affleck was able to ward off embarrassing suits by letters of explanation and by the indefinite status of the "Stay" law in the state. By October, 1867, it had become evident that the law, which had been extended by the legislature in 1866, was to become invalid under the radical govern-
 41
 ment. Those who held claims against Affleck became more insistent, and were no longer satisfied with his pleas for time. His explanation that if they all sued, there would be nothing for any of them seemed to hasten rather than to delay court proceedings.

Suits that had been entered against Affleck in the court of Washington County were upon his lawyer's advice allowed to go un-
 42
 contested.

In April, 1868, Affleck's land was placed on the block and sold

40 *Ibid.* See also, Affleck to E. L. Slaughter, May 15, 1867; *id.* to J. D. Dameron, May 15, 1867; *id.* to A. G. Powers, May 15, 1867; *id.* to A. Whiting, May 15, 1867; *id.* to John S. Coulson, May 16, 1867; *id.* to Wheeler and Upshaw, May 16, 1867.

41 Gammel (ed.), *Laws of Texas*, 1866, pp. 126-29. This law made it possible for a debtor to pay only one third in 1867 and the remainder in equal shares the two following years.

42 Affleck had deeded 1,600 acres of his land, including the mill, on July 1, 1866, to D. C. Giddings, Brenham, as a guarantee of debts to John Andrews and P. O. Hebert, to the amount of \$16,161.72 with interest at 10 per cent less some payments not listed. The first payment of half of the amount was to be made on April 1, 1868. If the payments were not made, the property was to be sold at sheriff's sale and the amount placed upon the notes. There is no record of any payments but the sale was not made on April 1. Washington County Deed Book, T, 598. Robert W. Scott sued Affleck, and judgment was rendered on April 24, 1867, but the property also seems not to have been sold at sheriff's sale until April, 1868. Jeff Bassett bought 1,000 acres at \$1,200.

by the sheriff, in spite of his having tried every means to prevent
⁴³ it. The family was able to keep only the homestead of two hundred
⁴⁴ acres allowed by law. However, Affleck had terminated his guardian-
 ship of his son's property in February, and through this action a
 large part of the movable property on the estate and the warehouse in
⁴⁵ Hatches were held for the sons. Most of the lands that were sold
 were bought by Basset and Giddings, Branham lawyers. Events indicate
 that this had been arranged or was an act of kindness so that much of
⁴⁶ the property could be rebought at a later date. Affleck had no further
⁴⁷ need to worry about plantation problems.

Numerous suits were successfully entered against Affleck during early 1868. See Dyer *vs.* Affleck, Washington County Court, Civil Minutes, Book A, 5, 10, 21; A. H. Rippetoe *vs.* Affleck, *ibid.*, 30; W. T. Rogers *vs.* Affleck, *ibid.*, 52. See also, for transfer of Affleck's property, Washington County Deed Books, V, 137-38.

⁴³ Affleck to Messrs. Giddings, February 10, 1868; *id.* to W. L. Cushing, February 10, 1868; *id.* to C. H. Slocomb, February 12, 1868; *id.* to James Carradine, February 12, 1868; *id.* to H. G. Stetson and Company, February 11, 1868; *id.* to B. A. Shepherd, February 19, 1868; *id.* to J. C. Smith, April 18, 1868. To W. L. Cushing he wrote, "No sooner was the Stay Law pronounced unconstitutional than every holder of a claim in this state, passed upon their debtors. For my part, in spite of every effort, they have sold me up, root and branch; upon debts of about \$8,000 or \$9,000, leaving me only a homestead!" *Id.* to Cushing, April 30, 1868.

⁴⁴ Gideon Lincoecum wrote a friend at the time that "Everything is going downhill in this country. Property particularly. T. Afflecks--do you know him?--fine farm, scotch castle gardens, stean mill, all sold the other day at sheriffs sale at fifty cents per acre." Gideon Lincoecum to G. J. Durham, April 20, 1868, in Lincoecum Papers.

⁴⁵ Washington County Court Records, Probate Minutes, Book F., 53, 92-93, 331, 375.

⁴⁶ Mrs. Affleck was able to get back most of the property in 1869. Washington County Deed Books, W, 324-25. She bought 1,750 acres for \$2,000, but she later deeded 230 acres to James C. Miller and George C. Red in payment of the money that had been entrusted to Affleck's care during the war and for which he had given land as security. Washington County Deed Books, W, 330-31.

⁴⁷ Affleck to J. C. Smith, April 18, 1868; *id.* to Superintendent of

Meanwhile, Affleck was attempting by every possible means to raise funds for the necessities of life. He almost had to beg the merchants and factors at times to aid him in his difficulties.⁴⁸ To purchase essentials during late 1867 and 1868, he resorted to nearly every expedient.⁴⁹ He tried to get contracts for hedging the railroads; he entered upon land speculation again;⁵⁰ he attempted to contract to furnish grape juice to distillers at Brenham and to druggists at Houston and Galveston;⁵¹ he made an agreement to furnish a northern manufacturer with castor beans;⁵² he interested himself trying to rebuild the nursery at Glenblythe;⁵³ he considered onion planting, commercial fishing, and numerous other enterprises.⁵⁴ However, his only income except an inheritance from his father's estate in Scotland⁵⁵ came from the sale of Cressylic acid compounds.

In October, 1868, Affleck established himself in Galveston, where his druggist partner George lived, in the hope that he would be able

Freedom's Bureau, April 25, 1868; id. to Dr. T. H. Maddox, August 5, 1868; id. to Robert Scott, August 10, 1868; id. to Randall, October 3, 1868.

⁴⁸ Affleck to Sorley, June 1, 1867; id. to Massie, June 21, 1868; id. to J. R. Morris, July 11, 1867; id. to Dunbar, November 2, 1868; id. to A. Sessums and Company, May 15, July 20, 1868.

⁴⁹ Id. to William J. Hutchins, February 3, January 25, 1868; id. to Tipton Walker, February 4, 1868.

⁵⁰ Id. to A. McDonald, January 30, 1868; id. to George F. Moore, February 3, 1868.

⁵¹ Id. to Giddings, June 16, 1868; id. to A. Sessums, July 20, 1868.

⁵² Id. to H. J. Baker and Company, July 1, 1868; Houston Weekly Telegraph, November 5, 1868; Galveston Daily News, July 22, 1868.

⁵³ Id. to Vilmorin, Andrieux and Company, August 3, 1868.

⁵⁴ See above, p. 410. See also, Affleck to J. J. H. Gregory, June 2, 1868.

⁵⁵ Id. to "Sister," January 13, 1868.

to profit more from the sale of Cresylic compounds. His room, an empty office above the druggist's shop, was devoid of furniture and comforts of any kind. "It is not the sort of room I would like for you," he wrote to his wife, "Yet, if you can overlook the proximity of office &c., it will do for a little while, to be together. I am going to get a stove in which I can make a cup of coffee."⁵⁶ He was undergoing great hardships of exposure, and his financial condition was a continual torment.⁵⁷ All of the money that he could get was used to supply his family at Glenblythe.⁵⁸ In late December, 1868, Affleck received some money from the sale of the Almanac advertisements, and hoped that the holiday season would be one of good cheer at Glenblythe. But even in this, he was disappointed, for the supplies⁵⁹ did not arrive in time for Christmas. The desolation at Glenblythe may have hastened the death of Affleck on December 30, 1868.

⁵⁶ Id. to wife, October 15, 1868.

⁵⁷ Id. to Dunbar, November 24, 1868. He wrote Dunbar to sell the remaining ambulance, mules, and anything else that could be sold at a reasonable price. Id. to id., November 4, 1868.

⁵⁸ Id. to id., December 10, 1868. In explaining why he had not been able to send more he wrote: "I did everything in my power. More worried and exposed than I have said anything about. But, could do no better. And things don't look overly well in the business way." Ibid. In early December, Affleck reached an agreement with an insurance agent to take some advertising in the forthcoming Almanac in return for insurance. There is no definite record of its payment after his death, but if he were able to gain the contract, it was better luck than he usually had. Id. to N. P. Dolan, December 2, 1868; id. to Dolan and Price, December 4, 1868.

⁵⁹ Id. to Dunbar, December 16, 1868; id. to A. Whiting, December 21, 1868.

Thus ended the career of this southern leader. Only fifty-six years old at the time of his death, his busy life had been filled with sadness and disappointments. His years had never brought him personal success commensurate with his efforts. At the time of his death he had just passed another tragic climax, but new hopes for the future were appearing.

In retrospect it may be noted that Affleck's early years had prepared him to take an important role in America. After he had decided to migrate to the United States, he had carefully disciplined his interests so that he would be fitted for the New World. He had occupied his time in the study of business methods, science, and agriculture, and in extensive reading. Although he had found his extraordinary training and ability in demand in the United States, he suffered early failures and hardships. He learned through bitter experience the trials of immigrants, both from foreign countries to America and from the eastern United States to the West. Nevertheless, this had been worth-while experience, for as a writer and editor he had compared with authority the better agricultural practices of Scotland and England with those in the United States, and also those of the East with the frontier sections. After his removal to the South, he had been able to carry his comparisons further, and his advice had had soundness based upon firsthand information and thorough study.

As a nurseryman and as editor and publicist for diversified

and scientific agriculture in the South, Affleck made important contributions. But the financial returns from these occupations had not been sufficient for his needs, and he sought other outlets for his energy. As a result of this search for security for himself and his family, his interests led him into nearly every phase of southern life. Indebtedness, and a natural inclination to seek greener pastures, had caused him to remove to Texas, where he had barely settled in time to assume an important role as a civilian leader during the Civil War. His advice and leadership were invaluable to the people who had been forced at last to become self-sufficient, but his personal fortunes had not been improved.

When the conflict ended, apparently there were great opportunities for those persons with the foresight and initiative necessary to take advantage of the needs of a New South, which had been helped in many ways as a result of having had to depend upon its own resources for four years. Few men had the energy and courage to put their panaceas to a test. Believing that the section first had to solve its labor problems by becoming independent of the Negro, Affleck entered upon his enterprise for encouraging and assisting immigration from Europe to the South. His unsuccessful attempt to solve southern labor problems led him into industrial and commercial schemes of immense potentialities, and finally, by chance, to the publicizing and sale of cresote compounds.

Despite his failings, Affleck's work was of immeasurable value

to the country. Many of the programs, plans, and enterprises that he advocated were hastened by his efforts and have since been realized. Some of them, such as the appointment of an immigration commissioner, were to follow soon after his death; because of his work, interest in immigration of white people to the South increased greatly during his life time.⁶⁰ Diversified farming and improved implements, about which he had written so much, were soon to be in evidence on almost every farm in Texas;⁶¹ regular transportation to Europe was shortly provided,⁶² and better harbors for Texas were to come somewhat later; his work in the interest of the livestock industry must be given much credit.⁶³ Irrigation and manufacturing of various sorts were forecast by Affleck, who had encouraged their development. If all of his efforts had been futile, however, his work would still have been worthy of study because it presents in a clearer light the history of his times.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Galveston Daily News, March 9, 10, May 17, 18, 19, 30, July 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 1867; Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 23, October 22, 1866; Houston Daily Telegraph, June 4, July 1, October 7, 18, 22, November 26, December 13, 1868; Clarksville Standard, July 4, 1868; John T. Flint and D. T. Chamberlain to Brockmorton, February 28, 1867; Morys Haggae to id., n. d., 1867, in Governors' Letters; Ashbel Smith to L. M. Jones, September 8, 1868, in Ashbel Smith Papers.

⁶¹ Galveston Daily News, May 10, 1867, et seq., for reports on the sales of implements.

⁶² Ibid., July 9, 1867; Houston Weekly Telegraph, November 26, 1868.

⁶³ See Galveston Daily News, July 10, 1867; July 3, September 1, 1868; Houston Weekly Telegraph, October 1, 1868; Flake's Galveston Daily Bulletin, July 1, 1869, for notices concerning the movement for preserving beef in Texas and for the shipping of cattle out of the state. His most important contribution in this regard was, of course, his introduction of Cresylic acid.

In order to understand Affleck's great influence upon his contemporaries, his personal characteristics and the power of his pen must be emphasized. He gained the immediate attention and usually the confidence of those with whom he was associated. Handsome as a youth, he had become more distinguished in appearance as he had grown older. His dignified bearing and naturally serious countenance, made more prominent by a full beard, marked him out among men.⁶⁴ An old lady who remembers him when she was a very small girl retains a vivid picture of his bearing and features. She has written in her memoirs that "he was rather stern in appearance, but kind in heart. All of us stood greatly in awe of him."⁶⁵ His keen intelligence had been more impressive as a result of his remarkable command of information upon the most varied subjects. He had always been at ease when conversing, and he had been equally apt at making public addresses. His style as a writer had been lucid and readable, although not polished. For the rural population, to whom it was primarily directed, it had been ideal.

Personal faults loom large in the career of Affleck. He had never been able to undergo periods of hardship without trying to find an easy solution to his problems. He does not appear to have been personally avaricious, but he had sought to make money to pay his debts and provide for his family in ways that were sometimes of

64. There is a picture of Thomas Affleck made in the 1850's in the home of Mr. T. D. Affleck at Galveston, Texas.

65. Foulcs, "My Memories."

questionable ethics. As a result, his conscience was at times respite^d only by his facile logic and pen. From the vantage point of the present it appears unwise for him to have undertaken many of the enterprises and promotions which drained so much of his energy. Immense sums of money would have been necessary for the successful culmination of some of his schemes. Although he usually had been promised more support than was forthcoming, in many instances he did not show good judgment nor take proper precautions. Nevertheless, he made people aware of solutions to many of their problems, and he presented workable plans for others with the means to fulfill them; he exposed faulty theories, if he did not always effect changes.

Most of what Affleck undertook was basically sound. As a visionary and experimenter himself, he considered the advanced ideas of others without prejudice and often was able to present scientific and mechanical discoveries and new developments in commerce and industry. The Houston Telegraph soon after his death gave a key to his place in history in the following notice:

"He was not only a good, but in our opinion a great man, and at least fifty years in advance of the age in which he lived. As a man of science, he occupied a proud position, but not one equal to the greatness of his conceptions. He did such as a writer, for the orchard, the garden, and all branches of agriculture, and the record he made of his greatness will be better appreciated now

that he has left us. Because he was ahead of his age, many thought him visionary, but the day will come when men will say that a monument should be erected to his memory. Had he possessed the means, he would have developed his plans, formed in his great mind, that would have placed him far up among the great benefactors; but the want of the means crushed down his aspirations, and others, not half so worthy, will reap glory from his conceptions in the future. We regret to put this on record--but who, that has read of Fulton, Watts, and a host of public benefactors, will dare dispute it? THOMAS AITLECK was a benefactor, and the day will come when the world will honor his memory."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Houston Telegraph, quoted in a printed letter sent out by James Buchan and Company, January 11, 1869.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Materials

Affleck Manuscripts

The large and important collection of Thomas Affleck (1812-1868) Papers in the Louisiana State University Department of Archives, containing documents, letters, letter books, clippings, articles, books, diaries, almanacs, etc., was the principal source for this study of Affleck. The greater part of the material consists of copies of letters and other writings of Thomas Affleck. These Papers have significant information for nearly every year of his life; particularly in the fields of social and economic history are they of value.

The early correspondence and diaries show the status of the personal affairs of the Affleck and Harnay (his mother's maiden name) families. Life in Scotland in the early nineteenth century and the problems that would lead a young man interested in making a place for himself to migrate to America are presented. Affleck's temperament, intelligence, and breadth of view gave to his early diaries and correspondence maturity beyond his years. The letters to people in Scotland after his arrival in America in 1832, and to kinspeople and acquaintances in this country show the status of civilization and the difficulties he experienced during his acclimating period in the United States.

Affleck's first eight years in the United States were spent in New York, Pennsylvania, and Indiana. His correspondence at this time shows clearly the ways of American business, society, and, to a less extent, of

agricultural practice, for Affleck was interested in and about these. His writings between 1835 and 1840 describe frontier conditions and the difficulties of the frontier merchant.

In the second decade of Affleck's career in the United States, he began the constructive work in economic and social improvement that impressed his contemporaries so favorably. In 1840 he became an editor of the Western Farmer and Gardener, one of the most important agricultural magazines in the West. He traveled widely to study methods and to sell improved breeds of livestock. Most of his correspondence and published writings in this period of magazine editorship were concerned with agricultural matters.

After he removed to Mississippi in 1842, where he became connected with the noted Dunbar family through marriage, his papers assume importance for the study of southern history, particularly the economic and social phases. He gave much of his time to public service and wrote widely on scientific and agricultural subjects, which established his reputation as a learned, public-minded citizen, and widened his scope of acquaintance and influence. In attempting to extricate himself from a heavy indebtedness he tried various schemes and businesses besides managing plantations. He set up one of the first commercial nurseries in the South, and in gathering there by importation from the North and from Europe valuable plants that would be useful to his adopted section of the country, he received advice and was consulted concerning all phases of nursery management.

Most of his letters during his Mississippi years are particularly valuable for the horticultural and other agricultural information con-

tained therein. Through his correspondence with others interested in scientific subjects and agricultural improvement and with various agricultural publications, he established himself as a noted and authoritative writer and consultant on these subjects. He served as agricultural editor of several newspapers, compiled plantation record books and farm sheets, and wrote valuable essays. He probably became most widely known through his publication of Affleck's Southern Rural Almanac and his Plantation Journal and Account Book. His correspondence with the leaders in all phases of southern life, particularly with those prominent in the fields of geology, entomology, soil chemistry, and other sciences valuable to the rural population, became extensive. Among the prominent names that appear in Affleck's records are: Martin W. Phillips, Robert W. Scott, Edmund Ruffin, Dr. S. D. Gale, E. J. Hooper, A. B. Allen, Thaddeus W. Harris, Dr. L. Harper, Henry S. Randall, W. M. Hents, John Parkhill, Matt R. Evans, B. M. Norman, John Milne, C. B. Stewart, J. B. Jones, N. B. Cloud, and B. L. C. Wiles.

As early as 1847 Affleck had become interested in Texas, and by 1855 he had begun to transfer his home and nursery to that state. He had begun considerable propaganda for agricultural and general economic improvement in that state earlier through his correspondence and Almanac. His letter files reveal much information concerning the land speculation of the period, and include many items dealing with the various problems of migration to Texas and of land grants. After he had moved to Texas, his writings were published principally in the columns of the Houston Telegraph to 1865, and after that date in the Galveston News, the two

leading papers in the state, and they were reprinted in other journals over the state. His letters to the editors are most revealing, as he soon gained their personal confidence.

During the Civil War there are few records extant; the greater part of the correspondence after his removal was in the years 1865-1868. There are some personal letters, a series of letters concerning a trip to Mexico during 1863, and a record book irregularly kept showing the expenses of his plantation and the accounts of the rural factory established for making lumber, flour, corn meal, and other products, and for ginning cotton. He supplied troops with considerable supplies, and some of the records of these transactions remain. He wrote for the newspapers at varying intervals. There are also a number of letters to and from his son, I. D. Affleck, who was in the Confederate cavalry.

As result of his initiating and promoting a movement for white immigration following the war, Affleck became involved in all sorts of speculative enterprises for the economic reconstruction of the state. Irrigation, dredging of rivers and bays, direct trade with England, woolen manufacturing, exportation of livestock to Europe, preservation of meats and other foods, and numerous other projects were discussed and presented at one time or another. He made two trips to England in 1865 and 1866 to further his schemes, and he wrote numerous letters concerning his experiences. He was interested in and discussed nearly every phase of the social, economic, and political problems of the state and the nation during the early Reconstruction period. By the time of his premature death in 1868, he had turned for a living to the sale of Cresylic acid, a carbolic or creosote derivative, invaluable for the treatment of livestock.

He was again writing for the Houston Telegraph in return for advertisement for the product. His letters continue to show his broad interests and keen foresight.

The Affleck Papers may be consulted with profit for information on almost any topic for the period of his life. All of the personal records and correspondence have been transcribed and proofread by the writer, Dean W. H. Stephenson, and NYA assistants, and most of the published writings have been gathered. These records are available in accurate typed form in the Louisiana State University Department of Archives.

Other Affleck manuscripts are to be found in the Affleck Scrapbook, in the Texas State Archives, Austin; in the possession of Mr. T. D. Affleck, Galveston; in the Rosenberg Library, Galveston; and among the I. D. Affleck Papers, in the possession of Mr. T. D. Affleck. Copies of all of these records that are pertinent to a study of Thomas Affleck are in the Thomas Affleck Papers, Louisiana State University Department of Archives, where they have been placed by the writer.

Other Personal Manuscript Collections

Bryan, Guy M., Papers, in University of Texas Library, Department of Archives.

Capell, Eli J., Papers, in Louisiana State University Department of Archives.

Foules, Mrs. Annie Inge, Papers, in Mrs. Foules' possession, Houston, Texas.

Giddings, D. C., Papers, University of Texas Library, Department of Archives.

Groce, Jared., Papers, University of Texas Library, Department of Archives.

Kendall, George W., Papers, University of Texas Library, Department of Archives.

Lincolem, Gideon, Papers, University of Texas Library, Department of Archives.

Maverick, Family Papers, University of Texas Library, Department of Archives.

Peebles, Richard R., Papers, University of Texas Library, Department of Archives.

Smith, Ashbel, Papers, University of Texas Library, Department of Archives.

Williams, Samuel M., Papers, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas.

Collections of Official Manuscripts

Adams County Records, Natchez, Mississippi, Courthouse.

Texas Eleventh Legislature Manuscripts, 1866, in Texas State Archives, Austin.

Texas Governors' Letters, in Texas State Archives.

Washington County Records, Brenham, Texas, Courthouse, and University of Texas Library, Department of Archives.

Newspapers

Austin (Texas) State Gazette, 1865-1867.

Baton Rouge (Louisiana) Gazette, 1842-1843.

Clarksville (Texas) Standard, 1846-1869.

Dallas (Texas) Herald, 1858-1869.

Flake's Galveston Bulletin, 1863-1869.

Galveston (Texas) Civilian, 1851-1862.

Galveston (Texas) Hera, 1850-1870 (Weekly, Tri-Weekly, and Daily).

Henderson (Texas) Times, 1863-1864.

Houston (Texas) Telegraph, 1842-1869 (Weekly, Tri-Weekly, and Daily).

New Orleans (Louisiana) Commercial Times, 1846-1849.

New Orleans (Louisiana) Picayune, 1845-1869 (Weekly and Daily).

New Orleans (Louisiana) Times, 1860-1869.

San Antonio (Texas) Herald, 1865-1867.

Contemporary Magazines

American Agriculturist (New York, 1842-).

American Farmer (Baltimore, Washington, 1819-1897).

Cultivator and Country Gentleman (Albany, N. Y., 1834-1883, title varies).

De Bow's Review (New Orleans, 1846-1880).

Gardener's Monthly and Horticulturist (Philadelphia, 1859-1875).

Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste (Albany, N. Y., 1846-1875).

Maryland Farmer (Baltimore, 1864-1902, title varies).

Ohio Farmer (Cleveland, 1848-).

Practical Farmer (Philadelphia, 1855-, title varies).

Prairie Farmer (Chicago, 1841-).

Rural New Yorker (New York, 1849-).

Sage Journal (Cincinnati, 1863-1869).

Southern Cultivator (Augusta, Athens, Atlanta, 1843-).

Southern Farmer (Memphis, 1867-1873, title varies).

Southern Planter (Natchez, 1842).

Southern Planter and Farmer (Richmond, 1841-, title varies).

Southern Ruralist (Tangipahoa, La., 1868).

South-Western Farmer (Raymond, Miss., 1842-1845).

Turf, Field and Farm (New York, 1865-1903).

Western Farmer and Gardener (Cincinnati, 1839-1845).

Official Publications

United States:

Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission, in Senate Documents, 61 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 747.

Agriculture in the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, 1864).

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents, 1867 (Washington, 1868).

Chapin, Robert E., The Dimethyl Sulphate Test of Creosote Oils and Creosote Dins: a Substitute for the Sulphonation Test, in United States Department of Agriculture, Circular 167 (Washington, 1930).

Curtise, Cooper, Progress and Prospects of Tick Eradication, in Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, 1910 (Washington, 1912).

Goodpasture, C. O., Report of the Work Against Sheep Scab in 1903, in Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the Year of 1903 (Washington, 1904).

Hall, Maurice C., Our Present Knowledge of the Distribution and Importance of Some Parasitic Diseases of Sheep and Cattle in the United States, in United States Department of Agriculture, Circular 193 (Washington, 1912).

Hall, Maurice C., Parasites and Parasitic Diseases of Sheep, in United States Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 1330 (Washington, 1918).

Imes, Marion, Sheep Scab, in United States Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 173 (Washington, 1927).

Imes, Marion, The Sheep Tick and Its Eradication by Dipping, in United States Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 798 (Washington, 1917).

Mackellar, William M., and George W. Hart, Eradicating Cattle Ticks in California, in United States Department of Agriculture, Circular 174 (Washington, 1930).

Malvin, A. D., and John R. Mobler, Lip-and-Leg Ulceration of Sheep, in United States Department of Agriculture, Circular 160 (Washington, 1910).

Population of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eleventh Census (Washington, 1864).

Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year, 1866 (-1871) (Washington, 1867-1872).

Report of General O. O. Howard to the War Department, 1867, in House Executive Documents, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1.

Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 30, Pt. IV.

Salmon, D. E. (ed.), Special Report on Diseases of Cattle and Cattle Feeding (Washington, 1892).

Sanger, George P. (ed.), The Statutes at Large and the Treaties of the United States...1863-1864 (Boston, 1864); ibid., 1865-1866 (Boston, 1866).

The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850 (Washington, 1853).

Statistical View of the United States...Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, 1854).

The War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901).

State:

Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama...1868 (Montgomery, 1868).

Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas...1873 (Little Rock, 1873).

Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia...1866 (Macon, 1867).

Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia...1865-66 (Richmond, 1866).

Acts of the Legislature of West Virginia...1871 (Charleston, 1871).

Acts of the State of Tennessee...1867-1868 (Nashville, 1868).

Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana...1866
(New Orleans, 1866).

Candler, Allen D. (comp.), Confederate Records of the State of Georgia,
4 vols. (Atlanta, 1909-1910).

Cammel, H. P. H. (comp.), The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897, 10 vols.
(Austin, 1898-1902).

Laws of the State of Maryland...1866 (Annapolis, 1866).

Laws of the State of Mississippi...1866-67 (Jackson, 1867).

Message of Gov. J. W. Throckmorton to the Legislature (Austin, 1866).

Public Laws of the State of North Carolina...1866-1867 (Raleigh, 1867).

Report of Superintendent of Bureau of Immigration of the State of
Texas for the Year 1872 (Austin, 1873).

Report of Thomas Cottman, Chief of the Bureau of Immigration for the
State of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1866).

Texas House Journal...1866 (Austin, 1867).

Texas Senate Journal...1866 (Austin, 1867).

Other Printed Sources

Affleck's Plantation Journal and Account Book (New Orleans, Philadelphia,
1850-1860).

Affleck's Southern Rural Almanac and Plantation and Garden Calendar for
1850 (-1861, and 1869) (New Orleans, Galveston, 1849-1860, 1868).

The Annual Cyclopaedia, 1866-1867 (New York, 1867).

Kellar, Herbert A. (ed.), Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist, 2 vols.
(Indianapolis, 1936).

Norman's Southern Agricultural Almanac for 1847 (New Orleans, 1846).

Texas Almanac for 1860 (-1869) (Galveston, 1859-1868).

Western Farmer and Gardener Almanac, 1843 (Cincinnati, 1842).

Winkler, E. W. (ed.), "The Bryan-Hayes Correspondence," III, in Southwestern Historical Quarterly (Austin, 1897-), XXV (1922), 274-99.

Secondary Materials

General and State

Brown, John H., History of Texas, from 1685 to 1892, 2 vols. (St. Louis, 1892-1893).

Channing, Edward, A History of the United States, 6 vols. (New York, 1921).

Esarey, Logan, History of Indiana, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1913).

Johnson, Frank W., Eugene C. Barker, and Ernest W. Winkler, A History of Texas and Texans, 5 vols. (Chicago, 1914).

Rhodes, James F., History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850, 8 vols. (New York, 1928).

Wortham, Louis J., A History of Texas, from Wilderness to Commonwealth (Fort Worth, 1924).

Biographies, Monographs, Theses, and Other Special Studies

Scheson, Sam, 35,000 Days in Texas (New York, 1938).

Adams, Ephraim D., "The Point of View of the British Traveler in America," in Political Science Quarterly (Boston, New York, 1886-), XXXIX (1924), 244-64.

Barry, P., The Fruit Garden: A Treatise (New York, 1851).

Beisle, Rudolph L., The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861 (Austin, 1930).

Bidwell, Percy W., and John I. Falconer, The History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1820-1860 (Washington, 1925).

Bozeman, William F., "Martin Wilson Philips, Mississippi Planter" (Master's Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1937).

- Clapham, J. H., An Economic History of Modern Britain, 3 vols. (Cambridge, England, 1932).
- Cole, Arthur H., "Agricultural Crises: A Neglected Chapter in American Economic History," in American Economic Review (Ithaca, 1911-), XVI (1926), 622-39.
- Cole, Fred C., "The Early Life of Thomas Affleck" (Master's Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1936).
- Cooper, Lane, "Travelers and Observers, 1763-1846," in Cambridge History of American Literature, 4 vols. (New York, 1918-1921), I, 185-215.
- Craven, Avery, "The 'Turner Theories' and the South," in Journal of Southern History (Baton Rouge, 1935-), V (1939), 291-315.
- Curlee, Abigail, "A Study of Texas Slave Plantations, 1822 to 1865" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas, 1932).
- Cushing, E. B., "Edward Hopkins Cushing," in Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXV (1922), 261-74.
- Demaree, Albert L., The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1861 (New York, 1941).
- Dewey, D. R., Financial History of the United States (New York, 1931).
- Elliott, Claude, Leatherstock--The Life History of a Texas Patriot (San Antonio, 1938).
- Felgar, Robert P., "Texas in the War for Southern Independence, 1861-1865" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas, 1935).
- Fits, James, The Southern Apple and Peach Culturist (Richmond, 1872).
- Fleming, Walter L., "Immigration to the Southern States," in Political Science Quarterly, XI (1905), 276-98.
- Gray, Lewis C., History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933).
- Hill, Louise Biles, Joseph M. Brown and the Confederacy (Chapel Hill, 1939).
- Jenks, Leland H., The Migration of British Capital (New York, 1927).

- Johnson, Allen, and Dumas Malone (eds.), Dictionary of American Biography, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1926-1937).
- Jordan, H. Donaldson, "A Politician of Expansion," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review (Cedar Rapids, 1915-), V (1919), 362-81.
- Lona, Mlla, Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy (New York, 1933).
- McKittrick, Reuben, The Public Land System of Texas, 1821-1910 (Madison, 1918).
- Miller, Edward T., A Financial History of Texas (Austin, 1916).
- Miller, Robert F., A Family of Millers and Stewarts (St. Louis, 1909).
- Pennington, Mrs. R. H., The History of Brenham and Washington County (Houston, 1915).
- Phillips, Ulrich B., "The Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt," in Political Science Quarterly, XX (1905), 257-75.
- Pierce, Paul S., The Freedmen's Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction, in The State University of Iowa, Studies in Sociology Economics Politics and History, III, No. 1 (Iowa City, 1904).
- Prichard, Walter, "The Effects of the Civil War on the Louisiana Sugar Industry," in Journal of Southern History, V (1939), 315-33.
- Ramsdell, Charles W., "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVI (1930), 151-71.
- Ramsdell, Charles W., Reconstruction in Texas, in Columbia University, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, XXVI, No. I (New York, 1910).
- Randall, Henry S., The Practical Shepherd (New York, 1863).
- Randall, Henry S., Sheep Husbandry in the South (New York, 1868).
- Randall, James G., The Civil War and Reconstruction (New York, 1937).
- Russell, Robert, North America, Its Agriculture and Climate (Edinburgh, 1857).
- Smith, Justin H., The Annexation of Texas (New York, 1919).
- Spreight, A. W., The Resources, Soil, and Climate of Texas (Galveston, 1862).

Spence, James, The American Union: Its Effect on the National Character and Policy, with an Inquiry into Secession as a Constitutional Right, and the Causes of the Disruption (London, 1861).

Sydner, Charles S., A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region, Benjamin L. G. Talles (Durham, 1938).

Tyler, George W., The History of Bell County (San Antonio, 1936).

Wender, Herbert, Southern Commercial Conventions, 1837-1859, in Johns Hopkins University, Studies in Historical and Political Science, XLVIII (1930).

Winston, James E., "The Lost Commission: A Study in Mississippi History," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, V (1919), 158-89.

Winston, James E., "The Mississippi Whigs and the Annexation of Texas," in Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIX (1926), 161-80.

Winston, James E., "Texas Annexation Sentiment in Mississippi, 1835-1844," in Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIII (1920), 1-20.

Wish, Harvey, "The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1850," in Journal of Southern History, V (1939), 206-22.

Woody, R. H., "The Labor and Immigration Problem of South Carolina During Reconstruction," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVIII (1932), 195-213.

VITA

The author was born at Franklin, Texas, April 12, 1912. He graduated from Franklin High School in June, 1928. He entered Louisiana State University, September, 1932, and received the B. A. degree in June, 1934. He attended the summer term in 1934 as a graduate student, and was instructor in history at Baton Rouge High School during the regular 1934-1935 school year. He returned to the graduate school in the summer of 1935 as a research fellow in the history department. After receiving his M. A. degree in June, 1936, he continued his graduate study while serving as editorial associate of the Journal of Southern History. During the spring and summer of 1940 he was appointed assistant in English history. In the spring and summer of 1941 he served as instructor in American history. In November, 1941, he was selected as the managing editor of the Journal of Southern History.

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Fred C. Cole

Major Field: History

Title of Thesis: The Texas Career of Thomas Affleck

Approved:

W. H. Stephenson

Major Professor and Chairman

Wm O. Suggs

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Walter Penland

Harris H. Warren

W. B. Hatcher

C. E. Smith

Edward Ott

G. H. Davis

A. C. Richardson

T. H. Williams

Date of Examination:

May 11, 1942